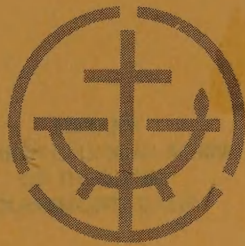


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FOR 1954—1956

EDITED FOR THE TRUSTEES BY

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF GIBEAH  
(TELL EL-FÛL)

LAWRENCE A. SINCLAIR

---

THE EXCAVATION OF THE CONWAY HIGH  
PLACE (PETRA) AND SOUNDINGS  
AT KHIRBET ADER

RAY L. CLEVELAND

---

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AT KIRKIST, 1931

BY J. H. FURST

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## PREFACE

This double volume of the *Annual* contains monographs on the unpublished excavations directed by the Editor at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah of Saul) in 1933 and at Ader (Moab) and Petra in 1933-34. All the records of these three excavations have been placed at the disposal of Drs. Lawrence A. Sinclair and Ray L. Cleveland, who have thoroughly digested the available data, with the Editor's constant help, and have brought their treatment up to date by utilizing all subsequent archaeological publications bearing on the excavated material. These studies were originally presented in 1958 as dissertations; they have since been revised, enlarged, and put into form suitable for the *Annual*. Both the authors have had months of experience in the field, Dr. Sinclair at Shechem (Jordan) and Dr. Cleveland at Jericho and Dibon (Jordan) and at Sohar and Khor Rori (Oman). They have, accordingly, been able to approach this previously excavated material with independent judgment, and the resulting monographs are their own contributions.

In view of the excellence of the now resulting publication, the Editor does not make any special apology for his procrastination. With the exception of Bethel, all the excavations, large and small, in which he took an active part before the Second World War, have now been published. The work at Bethel, undertaken in 1934 with the collaboration of Dr. James L. Kelso, who resumed excavations there in 1954, is in an advanced state of preparation and, barring an act of God, should be ready for press in 1961.

The archaeology of Palestine has made remarkable progress during the past decade. Thanks to the introduction of the methods of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Miss Kathleen Kenyon in analyzing the profiles of vertical cuts, Jericho has become a model which is being increasingly imitated by younger archaeologists. In Israel a brilliant group of young archaeologists is busily engaged in developing improved methods and technique. Above all, we now have many archaeologists who know Palestinian pottery and are familiar with the history of excavation. Without this knowledge no technique is adequate.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

June, 1960.

N.B. Owing to editorial oversight, the numbering of plates is not continuous in Parts I and II of the present volume. The numbers of plates in Part II are therefore followed by asterisks which do not appear in the text of Part II, but which should be quoted in citations.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITOR'S PREFACE .....	iii
 PART I. An Archaeological Study of Gibeah' (Tell el-Fûl). LAWRENCE A. SINCLAIR .....	1
Table of Contents (Part I) .....	3
 PART II. The Excavation of the Conway High Place (Petra) and Soundings at Khirbet Ader. RAY. L. CLEVELAND .....	53
Table of Contents (Part II) .....	55





PART I

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF GIBEAH  
(TELL EL-FÛL)

LAWRENCE A. SINCLAIR



## TABLE OF CONTENTS (PART I)

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.    Introduction .....	5
CHAPTER II.    The Building Constructions of Periods I and II (The Pre-Fortress Period and Fortresses I and II).....	10
CHAPTER III.    The Pottery of the Pre-Fortress Period and of Fortresses I and II.....	16
CHAPTER IV.    The Building Constructions of Period III (Fortress III) ..	27
CHAPTER V.    The Pottery of Fortress III.....	29
CHAPTER VI.    The Building Constructions of Period IV (Fortress IV and Village) .....	34
CHAPTER VII.    The Pottery of Period IV (Fortress IV and Village).....	37
CHAPTER VIII.    Latest Occupation and Stone and Metal Objects.....	46
APPENDIX I.    List and Description of Pottery Drawings.....	48
APPENDIX II.    The Tombs of Tell el-Fûl.....	51
PLATES .....	following page 52

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.</i>	M I	R. Lamon and G. Shipton, <i>Megiddo I: Seasons of 1925-1934, Strata I-V</i> (Chicago, 1939).
ANNUAL	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>	M II	G. Loud, <i>Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935-1939</i> (Chicago, 1948).
ANNUAL IV	W. F. Albright, "Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul), ANNUAL IV (1924).	Meg. T	P. L. O. Guy, <i>Megiddo Tombs</i> (Chicago, 1938).
AJA	<i>The American Journal of Archaeology.</i>	MT	Masoretic Text.
Anthedon	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Anthedon</i> (London, 1937).	NMP	G. Shipton, <i>Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of Strata VI-XX</i> (Chicago, 1939).
AP	W. F. Albright, <i>The Archaeology of Palestine</i> (Harmondsworth, 1949).	Opusc. Arch.	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica.</i>
AS IV, V	Elihu Grant and G. E. Wright, <i>Ain Shems Excavations, Parts IV and V</i> (Haverford, 1938, 1939).	OTMS	<i>The Old Testament and Modern Study</i> , ed. H. H. Rowley (London, 1953).
BA	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist.</i>	PEFA	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Annual.</i>
Bulletin	<i>The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>	PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.</i>
CBZ	O. R. Sellers, <i>The Citadel of Beth-zur</i> (Philadelphia, 1933).	PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly.</i>
CMP	A. Furumark, <i>The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery</i> (Stockholm, 1941).	QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.</i>
CPP	J. G. Duncan, <i>Corpus of Palestinian Pottery</i> (London, 1930).	RB	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
EJ	F. J. Bliss, <i>Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897</i> (London, 1898).	RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible.
EP	F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, <i>Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900</i> (London, 1902).	SCE	E. Gjerstad, <i>Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i> , Vols. I-IV (Stockholm, 1934-1938).
Gerar	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Gerar</i> (London, 1928).	SS I	J. W. Crowfoot et al., <i>Samaria-Sebaste I: The Buildings at Samaria</i> (London, 1942).
Gezer	R. A. S. Macalister, <i>The Excavation of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909</i> , Vols. I-III (London, 1912).	SS III	K. M. Kenyon et al., <i>Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria</i> (London, 1958).
Hazor I	Y. Yadin et al., <i>Hazor I</i> (Jerusalem, 1958).	Survey	C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, <i>The Survey of Western Palestine</i> (London, 1881-1888).
HES	G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, and D. G. Lyon, <i>Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910</i> (Cambridge, 1927).	Tarsus	H. Goldman et al., <i>Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus</i> , Vol. I (Princeton, 1950).
ICC	<i>International Critical Commentaries.</i>	TBM I	W. F. Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, I</i> , ANNUAL XII (1932).
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal.</i>	TBM I A	W. F. Albright, <i>The Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim, I A: Bronze Age Pottery of the Fourth Campaign</i> , ANNUAL XIII (1933).
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>	TBM II	W. F. Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, II: The Bronze Age</i> , ANNUAL XVII (1938).
JPOS	<i>The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</i>	TBM III	W. F. Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, III: The Iron Age</i> , ANNUAL XXI-XXII (1943).
L II	Olga Tufnell, C. Inge, and L. Harding, <i>Lachish II (Tell ed-Duweir): The Fosse Temple</i> (London, 1940).	TN I	C. C. McCown et al., <i>Tell en-Naşbeh, I: Archaeological and Historical Results</i> (New Haven, 1947).
L III	O. Tufnell, M. Murray, and D. Diringer, <i>Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir): The Iron Age</i> (London, 1953).	TN II	J. C. Wampler, <i>Tell en-Naşbeh, II: The Pottery</i> (New Haven, 1947).
LXX	The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament.		



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION \*

Tell el-Fûl is a hill some five kilometers (roughly three miles) north of the Damascus Gate at Jerusalem, immediately overlooking the Nablus road. The mound is a prominent, rather isolated hill, rising in terraces (Pl. 1, below). The meaning of the name, Tell el-Fûl, is "Mound of Horsebeans."

Gross (*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1843, p. 1082) was the first to identify Tell el-Fûl as the site of the Biblical city of Gibeah of Benjamin. Edward Robinson at first identified Gibeah with modern Jeba', but seeing the value of Gross' suggestion, adopted it (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1844, p. 598) and later incorporated it into his second edition of *Biblical Researches*.<sup>1</sup>

\* The author wishes to express his thanks to Professor W. F. Albright not only for putting all of his field records and notes on Gibeah at the author's disposal along with numerous suggestions, but also for encouragement and stimulation during the preparation of this study. Dr. Gus W. Van Beek read parts of the manuscript and made suggestions, particularly in connection with the Megiddo and Cypriote pottery chronologies. This report would not have been possible without the patience and inspiration of the author's wife, Jean; she also devoted her time industriously to typing and reading the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I (1856), pp. 577-579. Also, for a complete discussion of the sites suggested as Gibeah, see W. F. Albright, *ANNUAL* IV, pp. 28-43. Since the publication of the results of the first campaign at Tell el-Fûl, there has been general acceptance of the identification of Tell el-Fûl as Gibeah of Saul.

There is another Tell el-Fûl (see *Survey*, Maps, Sheet XVI, Vol. II, p. 428) which is situated near Qatrah, and should not be confused with Tell el-Fûl, Gibeah of Saul. Y. Aharoni (*PEQ*, 1958, p. 30) identified Tell el-Fûl near Qatrah with Shicron (Shikkeron, Josh. 15:11) and places it 5.5 km. northwest of Khirbet el-Muqanna' and just to the north of Naḥal Sorek (Wâdi eṣ-Ṣarâr).

In this same article Aharoni identifies Khirbet el-Muqanna' as the site of Ekron, following J. Naveh (*IEJ* 8, pp. 87-100). Naveh notes that according to pottery evidence Khirbet el-Muqanna' was founded by the Philistines and was occupied down into the Persian Period. There were only traces of Byzantine occupation. It seems in light of this that such an identification is impossible. Abel, in the second volume of his *Géographie* (p. 319), has collected the evidence from Josephus, the

Tell el-Fûl has the distinction of being one of the first sites excavated in Palestine. In May of 1868 Warren sent a group of laborers to dig on the mound. They limited themselves to trenches on the north and south sides and a small pit on the summit. No published report of the results exists, but Guérin and Conder give a description of the fortress which had been partly exposed by Warren (Guérin, *Description de la Palestine, Samarie*, Vol. I, pp. 188 f.; Conder, *Survey*, Vol. III, pp. 158-160).<sup>2</sup>

On the summit Warren's men uncovered an irregularly shaped tower which, according to Conder, measured 50 feet east to west and 46 feet north to south, but was not rectangular. Two chambers, each ten feet by six feet and nine feet deep,<sup>3</sup> appear to have been in the top (*Survey*, Vol. III, p. 159).

The revetments and walls uncovered on the north and south sides, which stood to a height of 15 feet and reached a thickness of seven or eight feet, were assigned to the time of the Crusaders.

These early soundings had little or no archaeological value for the subsequent excavators of the tell. In 1922 the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem sponsored work at Tell el-Fûl under the direction of W. F. Albright. The work of this first campaign was limited to the summit proper.

First Book of Maccabees, and the Onomasticon indicating intensive occupation of Ekron during the Maccabean and Byzantine periods. Albright has held for some time that 'Âkir satisfies the requirement as the site of Ekron.

Though there are no ancient remains on the surface of the mound of 'Âkir, it is situated in a basin surrounded by hills; therefore, there must have been a very rapid filling of the basin by erosion. The identification of 'Âkir as the site of Ekron was first suggested by Von Rad, *Palästina-jahrbuch* 29, pp. 33 ff. and followed by Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (1953), pp. 85 ff. Albright still holds the identification of Khirbet el-Muqanna' as the site of Eltekeh (*Bulletin* 15, p. 8 and 17, pp. 5 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Albright, *ANNUAL* IV, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This description does not fit the archaeological results, see *ANNUAL* IV, p. 26, n. 9 and below, Chapter VI.

During the excavation four major periods of occupation were distinguished. The first period, beginning on bed rock, was dated to the thirteenth-twelfth centuries B. C., ending near the end of the twelfth century. The second period was assigned to the eleventh century B. C. and two subdivisions were recognized, IIA and IIB. Fortress IIA was dated to the period of Saul, with IIB being a subsequent repair. Two subdivisions were also evident in the third period, which was dated to the ninth-seventh centuries B. C. The building of IIIA was attributed to Asa and a subsequent rebuilding (IIIB) was assigned to the seventh century. The fourth period was attributed to the time of the Maccabees, and a grain pit containing sherds of the Hellenistic-Roman or Early Roman Period (first century B. C.—first century A. D.) was also found.

The second campaign of excavation at Tell el-Fûl, the results of which are presented in this monograph, was carried out by Albright in 1933 (*Bulletin* 52, pp. 6-12). Financial support for this campaign came in the form of a gift to the American School in Jerusalem from Miss Juliana Wood of Philadelphia. The gift of \$1,000 enabled the excavator, who displayed his habitual strict economy, to distinguish the principal periods of occupation of the site and to restore the original plan of the fortress. Dr. Albright was assisted by the Two Brothers Fellow from Yale University, Mr. Percy B. Upchurch, and Mr. William Eff. Gad, archaeological surveyor, as well as by Mohammed 'Abd el-Haqq, a part-owner of the site who (while on a visit home from America) arranged with the numerous joint owners to lease the site for excavation.

The results of the second campaign of excavation at Tell el-Fûl render some modification of the original conclusions necessary. The area excavated during this expedition was increased. Work was directed toward clearing debris on the outside of the fortress (Pl. 27), removing the debris left by the earthquake of 1927, excavating untouched earth on the inside (Pl. 28), and examination of the eastern edge of the mound (Pl. 29). Since, because of our increased knowledge, the pottery chronology of Palestine has been refined in the course of the last quarter century, we must expect some revisions.

The results confirmed the original division of occupational periods with some shift in date. The Maccabean fortress turns out to be Hellenis-

tic, and the occupation of the Early Roman Period, which was known from the contents of the grain pit, is much more significant. There was no fortress construction in the first period, which was characterized by miscellaneous constructions antedating the foundations of the fortress. The appearance of a burned layer below the foundation of the fortress indicates a destruction probably at the time of the events described in Judges 19-20. No specifically Late Bronze pottery was found, though it is not impossible that some cooking-pot rims, having a distribution from the fourteenth to the tenth century B. C., actually date from Late Bronze. The collar-rim store-jar from this period is characteristic of early Iron I; therefore, we date the end of the first period *ca.* 1100 B. C. or a little later.

"The puzzling problem of the first two fortresses is now solved. The supposed fortress of the first period proves to be the southwest corner tower of a much larger citadel, the main wall of which is represented by the constructions on the northeast, hitherto assigned to the first phase of the second period. The second period in this corner synchronizes with the second phase of the second period in the northeast constructions."<sup>4</sup>

It is now clear that there were two phases of fortress construction in the second period: Fortress I is definitely from the time of Saul, late eleventh century B. C., and Fortress II is a rebuilding along a similar plan soon after the destruction of I. We can date I *ca.* 1020-1000 B. C.; it was presumably destroyed by the Philistines<sup>5</sup> after the battle of Gilboa. The fortress was undoubtedly rebuilt (II) almost immediately afterwards, but the duration of the occupation was short and the fortress was abandoned early in the tenth century B. C., presumably after David's unification of the Israelites.

The second campaign failed to bring to light any pottery belonging to the transition from Iron I to Iron II (tenth-ninth centuries B. C.), "a fact which [greatly] reduces the probability that the first phase of the third period belongs to the reign of Asa, about the beginning of the ninth century B. C."<sup>6</sup>

The construction of the third period can be

<sup>4</sup> Albright, *Bulletin* 52, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See the excellent article by T. Dothan, "Archaeological Reflections on the Philistine Problem," *Antiquity and Survival*, Vol. II (1957) pp. 151-164.

<sup>6</sup> Albright, *Bulletin* 52, p. 7.



described as a frontier fortress and watch-tower (*migdāl*).<sup>7</sup> This fortress was built on and around the southwest tower of the original citadel of the previous period, and well-built revetments pro-

<sup>7</sup> Albright has called my attention to the regular use of Accadian *madgaltu*, Hittite *awari*, for fortified points along the frontier (Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup>, p. 126). He points out that the word is the obvious source of \**magdalu* which means "look out" from *DGL* and not *GDL*. *Madgaltu* / *madgalāti* > \**magdaltu* / *magdalāti* by an extremely common type of transposition. (*Daltu*, *dalāti*, "door," "gate," may also have played a role in the transposition.) The feminine form, \**magdalāti*, is thus the source of Hebrew *migdālôt* and the masculine is formed on analogy to the feminine, *migdāl*. The basic meaning of *migdāl* is thus obviously watch-tower.

Galling (*Biblisches Reallexikon, Handbuch zum Alten Testament* 1, col. 381 ff.) suggests that *migdāl* referred to an acropolis in an unwall'd city, which can be substantiated by its use in II Chron. 26:10; 27:4 and Is. 30:25; 33:18. *Migdāl* is also used for a tower forming part of a city wall (II Chron. 14:6; 26:9; Neh. 3:25, 26, 27; Ezek. 26:4; 27:11). In addition, in II Kings 17:9; 18:8, *migdāl*, a watch-tower, is used in the phrase "from watch-tower (*migdāl*) to fortified city," designating a geographical area whose population numbers less than that of a village or town (cf. *dintu* in Accadian, as pointed out by Albright). This is supported by I Chron. 27:25 where *migdāl* appears at the end of a phrase "... in the fields, in the cities, in the villages and in the watch-towers."

Watzinger (*Denkmäler* I, pp. 59 ff.) says that the temple of Baal-berith at Shechem was a fortified tower. Wright says that the Shechem remains belong to a *migdāl*-temple (*Bulletin* 144, pp. 9-20; 148, pp. 11-28), now dated ca. 1600 B. C. (*Bulletin* 148, p. 20, n. 4). Foundations of massive temple structures have been found at Meggido, Strata VIII and VII (*M II*, pp. 102 ff.) and Ugarit. Certain ancient towns bearing names formed with *Migdāl* (e.g. Migdal-gad) evidently developed around such "towers." These structures must have been several stories high, with superstructures built of mud brick (cf. the "skyscrapers" of mud brick in South Arabia which are sometimes eight stories high). If so, this type may be reflected in the many-storied house-shrines found at Beth-shan.

Most of the Biblical references cited above for the use of *migdāl* as watch-tower *per se* are late. On the other hand, such references as Gen. 11:4, 5, where *migdāl* refers to the tower of Babel, Judg. 8:9 to a tower, probably temple-tower of Penue!l, and Judg. 9:51, 52 to a temple-tower at Shechem, reflect early tradition.

The original sense, as we have seen, of the word *migdāl* was watch-tower, but it was also applied to temples and towers, the massive remains of which have been found at Megiddo, Shechem, and Ugarit. These buildings served as a place of worship as well as a watch-tower and refuge in times of battle. Most of the watch-towers of Israel were presumably less massive, and the structures from the third and fourth periods at Gibeah offer good examples.

tected its outer walls. The first phase (IIIA), presumably built in the eighth century B. C., was possibly destroyed during the Syro-Ephraimitic War, when Pekah and Rezin of Damascus besieged Jehoahaz I (Ahaz) in Jerusalem (ca. 735 B. C.). A rebuilding and occupation in the seventh century B. C. (IIIB) is indicated by a number of royal stamped jar handles of the "flying-scroll" type and rosette design. The Chaldeans probably destroyed the second phase of III in 597 B. C.<sup>8</sup>

After a long period during which Tell el-Fûl lay abandoned, the mound was reoccupied. The fortress was reconstructed on a plan similar to III, and a small village occupied the eastern slope of the mound. Nearly all of the pottery from this period dates to the late fourth-second centuries B. C., being identical with that of Iron III-Hellenistic pottery from Beth-zur and probably contemporary with that of the East Gate Area at Shechem. Three bronze coins, all of Ptolemy Philadelphus, prove a third century date for part of the period. This fourth period may have ended ca. 200 B. C. There is no evidence that the mound was occupied during the period of the Maccabees, as was first thought; instead it lay in ruins during the second and part of the first century B. C.

The latest floor levels of the house complex on the eastern slope of the mound and the houses built around the foot and the side of the then ruined fortress illustrate the last period of occupation on the tell. This occupation belongs to Hellenistic-Roman, now usually called Early Roman. The village seems to have been destroyed by Titus, who encamped near it the last night before he reached Jerusalem in A. D. 70.<sup>9</sup>

The following table giving the chronology of the periods will be used in this publication:

Period I	ended ca. 1100 B. C.
(Pre-fortress)	or a little later
Period II	ca. 1020-ca. 990 B. C.
Fortress I	ca. 1020-ca. 1000 B. C.
Fortress II	ca. 1000-ca. 990 B. C.

<sup>8</sup> The date March, 597 B. C. is now fixed as the time of the first Chaldean invasion, from information on a cuneiform tablet published by Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556)* (London, 1956). See also W. F. Albright, *Bulletin* No. 143, pp. 28-33; Freedman, *BA*, XIX, pp. 50-60.

<sup>9</sup> Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, Book V, Chapter II.

Period III	eighth-seventh centuries B. C.
Fortress IIIA	eighth century B. C.
Fortress IIIB	seventh century—ca. 597 B. C.
Period IV	beginning second half of fourth
(Fortress IV)	century B. C.—ca. 200 B. C.
Period V	first century B. C.—first century A. D.

#### OLD TESTAMENT REFERENCES TO GIBEAH

Albright (ANNUAL IV, pp. 31-41) has surveyed the Biblical references to Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl), pointing out a number of corrections of the MT, in which Geba and Gibeah are occasionally confused. In Judg. 20:10 we should read "Gibeah" on the basis of context and the LXX; this is the reading of the RSV. The Israelite retreat described in Judg. 20:31 was along two roads, "one of which goes up to Bethel and the other to Gibeah" (RSV). Equivalent to the modern road running north from Jerusalem to el-Bîreh, the first road branches northeast to Bethel. The second road, leading away from Gibeah, is probably the road to Geba, not Gibeah.<sup>10</sup> The RSV reads, in Judg. 20:33,<sup>11</sup> "west of Geba." W. F. Albright has suggested the reading "west of Gibeah," following the versions.

Turning to I Sam. 13-14, we again find confusion between the use of Geba and Gibeah. In Chapter 13, before the battle with the Philistines, Saul stationed himself at Michmash and Mount Bethel (vv. 1, 2) while Jonathan remained at Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl). In v. 3 "Jonathan defeated the garrison of the Philistines which was at Geba" (RSV). Albright thought that the Philistines were not stationed at Geba or Gibeah of Benjamin<sup>12</sup> but rather at Gib'at Elohim, the "Hill of God" at Bethel, Burj Beitîn. A summary of the

events in I Sam. 13-14 was offered by Albright, showing that in many cases we should read Geba and Gibeah as they appear in the MT (ANNUAL IV, pp. 36, 37).

The second campaign at Gibeah compels a revision of previous views with regard to the location of Asa's fortresses. I Kings 15:22, "Then King Asa made a proclamation to all Judah, none was exempt, and they carried away the stones of Ramah and its timber, with which Baasha had been building; and with them King Asa built Geba at Benjamin and Mizpah" (RSV). In 1924, Albright argued that we should read "Gibeah of Benjamin," but now, on the basis of the pottery evidence from the second campaign, in which no characteristic pottery of the transition from Iron I to Iron II (tenth-ninth centuries B. C.) was found, it is evident that Asa did not build his fortress at Gibeah.<sup>13</sup>

A more recent argument identifying Mizpah with Tell en-Naşbeh has been presented by J. Muilenburg (TN I, pp. 3-44). However, Albright still maintains his former view favoring identification of Mizpah with Nebi Samwîl.<sup>14</sup> His argument has recently been strengthened by Pritchard's demonstration that el-Jîb is the site of ancient Gibeon.<sup>15</sup> It seems clear that Ishmael's escape from Johanan (Jer. 40:15) would logically be "by the valley east of Gibeon [el-Jîb], the nearest practical way to Ramah, from which an easy road led to Jeba' and the Wâdî eş-Şweîfî, down which escape to the Jordan Valley and the fords was simple."<sup>16</sup>

quite impossible, considering the fact that Gibeah was Saul's home and defended by Jonathan.

<sup>13</sup> J. A. Montgomery has followed Albright's older position (*The Books of Kings*, ICC [1951], p. 276). N. H. Snaith, *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 3, conspicuously omits any comment on this passage.

<sup>14</sup> Albright, *JBL*, LVIII (1939), pp. 179 ff.

<sup>15</sup> J. Pritchard, *BA*, XIX (1956), pp. 66-75.

<sup>16</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 95.

J. Muilenburg (TN I, pp. 3-44) has presented a comprehensive study of the problems related to the identification of Tell en-Naşbeh. He argues for identifying Tell en-Naşbeh with ancient Mizpah. Since we favor the identification of Nebi Samwîl with Mizpah (see ANNUAL IV, pp. 90-111), we will concern ourselves with Muilenburg's arguments against this identification.

From his study of Judg. 20, 21 he argues with Albright who says that the references to Mizpah in these passages express a stereotyped motif and are secondary in nature (TN I, p. 26), but Muilenburg then asks the question "... what topographical picture was in the

<sup>10</sup> J. Muilenburg (TN I, p. 26) says that most scholars read Gibeon instead of Gibeah in Judg. 20:31. This emendation is then used to fortify his argument for the identification of Mizpah with Tell en-Naşbeh. If we follow Albright and read Geba, Muilenburg's argument is weakened. Geba is east of the main road from Jerusalem to Nablus, while Gibeon (el-Jîb) is west of that road. See also below n. 16.

<sup>11</sup> J. M. Myers, *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 2, p. 820, quotes LXXA which reads Gibeah, but translates it Geba.

<sup>12</sup> G. B. Caird, *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 2, p. 946, holds the view that the Philistines were at Gibeah, which is



Even if we eliminate Gibeah from the passage describing Asa's building operations, the combina-

tion of Geba and Nebi Samwil meets the requirements of the situation.

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minds of those who edited the stories [?]" Any answer to this question is, of course, highly subjective.

In his discussion of I Kings 15:16-22 Muilenburg accepts the identification of Jeba' as the site of ancient Geba and describes the importance of its location on the Michmash road, through the Wâdî eš-Šweinîṭ (*ibid.*, p. 29), but he concludes that Nebi Samwil would not qualify as Mizpah, an outpost to protect the Nablus road, because, according to his credited observers the road cannot be seen from the top of Nebi Samwil.

We agree that the present Nablus road which runs along the water-shed cannot be seen from Nebi Samwil. But did the main road in antiquity follow this route? Albright holds that it did not. He does not deny that the water-shed route was used in antiquity, but the most traveled northerly route from Jerusalem followed the valley which begins just north of Jerusalem, con-

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tinued west of Tell el-Fûl and east of Nebi Samwil, made an arc eastward to pass Tell en-Našbeh on the east, and then turned north. It would seem logical, moreover, that an army approaching Jerusalem from the north would use the main roads, the Michmash road and the road by Nebi Samwil. Nebi Samwil offers a very strategic position on this road. See Albright's (ANNUAL IV, p. 95) description of the excellent view from the top of Nebi Samwil.

We have already mentioned in the text the importance of Jer. 40:15 for identifying Nebi Samwil as Mizpah.

Muilenburg admits that I Macc. 3:46 gives strong evidence for placing Mizpah at Nebi Samwil (*TN I*, p. 34).

The identification of Mizpah is not certain, but Nebi Samwil has not been decisively eliminated; in fact, the evidence seems to support this identification.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BUILDING CONSTRUCTIONS OF PERIODS I AND II (THE PRE-FORTRESS PERIOD AND FORTRESSES I AND II)

The chaotic condition of the summit of the mound before the excavation of 1933 can be seen in the photographs on Pl. 2. In the first campaign, wherever possible, the excavators left the walls standing, a practice which leaves the masonry evidence relatively intact but prevents detailed planning of lower levels. During the earthquake of 1927 most of the excavated masonry of the fourth and third periods collapsed, falling inside and outside the fortress. This general destruction left the walls of Fortresses I and II well preserved and, therefore, a more detailed study of this period was made possible. (Pl. 2, above, gives a view of the fortress from the northeast with Room A on the left. Loci D and G are pictured on Pl. 2, below, with the camera facing westward.)

Anticipating a clarification of the fortress sequence, the excavators set as one of their tasks the removal of all debris, recent (from the earthquake) and ancient, within this area (Pl. 30). Their expectations were fulfilled and the main enigma of the history of the fortress was solved.

On the basis of the evidence from the first campaign, the excavator assigned a small rectangular fortress comprising the lower courses of the outer walls of Rooms A, C<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>2</sub> to Period I, along with the diagonal wall of F (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXII). Fortress IIA was described as a rebuilding of the walls in the southwest corner (Rooms A, C<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>2</sub>; ANNUAL IV, p. 8), also the lower walls in B, D, E, G, H, the doorway from D into B, and the staircase in D (ANNUAL IV, pp. 8 f.). Obviously a destruction and rebuilding took place in this northeast area, as shown by the collapsed staircase covered with debris. The IIB rebuilding (ANNUAL IV, p. 9) consisted of a pavement over the debris and a retaining wall to hold it in place (Room D).

During the second campaign the debris of Room B, north of the cross wall joining the door-jamb on the east, was cleared to bedrock. Separate layers of ashes marked two conflagrations, one below the foundations and the other beginning 30-40 cm.

above the foundation, rising to 80-90 cm. The depth of the second ash layer varied between 20-50 cm. Likewise, Room A was cleared to bed-rock. At the bottom of Room A, below the foundation of the fortress, appeared a rock installation, which will be described more fully below.

The lower bed of ashes in Room B, north, coincides with the ash layer in Room B, south. A burnt layer above the foundation at the same level as the second layer in Room B, north, was found on the other side of the east wall of B (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXIVa, sec. o-p) in D, E, F, G, H and as a layer of cinders in A, C<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>2</sub> (ANNUAL IV, p. 7). This upper level in D, just above the threshold level, is older than either the stairs or the high platform, and extends continuously under and behind both. The platform (1.90 m. from foundation to top) belongs to the period of the staircase, since the burnt layer goes equally under both. The steps then date to the period after the doorway was blocked, and access to the stairs must have been over the outer masonry face of the platform, which faced eastward away from the doorway to the west of the stairs. The smooth surface of the platform east of the foundation of the stairs is an additional confirmation.

The northern wall of Room A can be dated earlier than the second phase of the other walls to the south in Room A and to the west in Rooms C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub>, because its masonry is more characteristic of the Fortress I Period. It certainly belongs to this period, especially since its foundation rests on bed-rock. When the builders of Fortress II came upon the scene, this northern wall of A must have stood intact, higher than the outside wall (south wall of Room A). Moreover, in Period III the east wall of A passes north and south across the Fortress I north wall of A, but in Fortresses I and II this north wall of A passes on to the east, making a straight joint with the earlier east wall of Room A (Pl. 30).

The sequence of the fortress construction can now be clarified. The rectangular fortress of the first period proves to be the southwest corner of

a large fortress. The latter also comprises the lower walls north of A and those in B which had been previously attributed to the first phase of II. The plan of Fortress II includes the walls of the second period in the southwest tower as well as the second phase of the second period in B, D, G, E. The wall of F and the stone installation in Room A then belong to a period earlier than the fortress construction.

The two burnt layers represent a destruction of the pre-fortress settlement and another in the time of the first fortress. No evidence exists for the destruction of Fortress II; it was probably abandoned.

### Period I (Pre-fortress)

The earliest occupation of the mound seems to have been in the Middle Bronze Age, as indicated by Middle Bronze sherds and mace heads. This minor settlement, from which no building remains were uncovered, antedates our Pre-fortress Period.

The remains from the Pre-fortress Period include an interesting stone installation at the bottom of Room A (Plates 28, 30, 32) lying beneath the foundations of Saul's fortress, and the diagonal wall west of Locus F (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXII). Sherds of collar-rim store-jars found in the lowest levels of the remains of houses on the east edge of the mound show an occupation in this period, but there were only a few fragmentary remains of housewalls from this early town.

The curious stone installation is formed by large stones standing on edge flush with the edge of a rock terrace (Plates 3, 32). The stones were placed end to end, with the terrace hollowed out at the west end to form a sort of basin. The terrace edge rises 40 cm.; stone *b* is 40 cm. high, *c* is 55-60 cm. in height, *d* stands still higher, 60-70 cm., while *e* is the lowest, 35 cm. high. The basin measures 90 cm. by 1.00 m. and 20 cm. deep. A stone missing at the west end probably abutted against stone *b*. Still further south the east edge of the terrace runs under the south wall of Fortress I (of Saul). On the other hand, stone *e* lies below the foundation of the north wall of Room A (Fortress I), which rises to pass over it. A rubble wall (not shown) to the west of stone *d* is not on the edge of the terrace, but seems to be secondary. On Pl. 3, above, the wall running north and south in Room A, hiding part of the rock installation, dates from the time of Saul's

fortress. The side facing away from the camera is faced and was apparently used as a partition wall. It rises 1.10 m. above the bedrock and safely clears the stone installation.

What was the purpose of this installation? It could not have served as an oil or wine press because of the soft and friable limestone used and the insecure balance of the stones on the rim. It could not have formed part of the sheepfold or cattlefold for the latter reason, as well as because of its highly exposed location on the summit of the *tell*. The narrow ledge on which the large stones are placed was hollowed out secondarily on the inside, since no one who realized the fragile condition of the ledge would perch on it. It may conceivably have served as a grave which was cleaned out before the construction of Saul's fortress.

### Period II—Fortresses I and II

Large rubble masonry laid in roughly horizontal courses is characteristic of the walls forming the tower of Fortress I and the outside fortress wall (Pl. 30). Constructed in a similar fashion, the inner walls of the fortress were narrower. The tower measured 17.80 m. from east to west on the outside, and 11.60 m. along the western face. Its walls were 2.00 m. thick and the outer fortress walls reached a thickness of 1.20 m., while the inner fortress wall was only 1.00 m. thick. Owing to the more massive character of the tower walls, they remained standing to a height of 1.80-2.20 m.

The tower is not bonded to the outer wall of the fortress, but the tower walls form straight joints with the walls of the fortress. Only the wall separating Rooms A and C<sub>1</sub> is bonded to the tower wall, but not to the corner of the fortress. The towers were evidently constructed after the main building had been completed, but as part of the original plan. Whether this was the easiest way to build or whether this plan serves a good defensive function (in case the tower was demolished by the enemy, the wall of the fortress proper would still remain intact) is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

The masonry of Saul's fortress is in no sense distinctive. It seems to be transitional in character, made of large rough stones with little or no evidence of attempts at dressing like the better Middle Bronze and Late Bronze masonry elsewhere in Palestine. It tends to be laid in courses,

<sup>1</sup> See also R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* (London, 1914), pp. 36-38.



similar to that of the Iron Age and later periods. The masonry uncovered during the first campaign can be seen in ANNUAL IV, Figs. 5-10, and the masonry of this period from both campaigns, Pl. 4, below (lower courses only), and Plates 33 and 34 (lower five courses only on Pl. 33, left). Smaller stones were generally used to fill the interstices between the large stones of the wall, but the west tower wall (ANNUAL IV, Fig. 5) shows a more solid construction with closely fitted stones of *mizzi* (hard local limestone) and *nâri* (a dull white limestone, refractory to fire), quite large, e. g., 70 by 30, 65 by 45, 45 by 35 cm. on their exposed faces. Similar rude construction is also evident in the west tower and city wall of Tell en-Naşbeh (TN I, Pl. 64:3), dated as Early Iron (*ibid.*, p. 190) and house walls of Stratum IV at Tell Abū Hawām (QDAP, IV, Pls. VIII 1; IX: 1). It must be remembered that the masonry of the house walls from Tell Abū Hawām naturally does not exhibit the thickness found in the walls of our fortress and tower.

The extent and plan of Saul's fortress can be reconstructed within reasonable limits (Pl. 35, above). "At about 65 metres east of the outer corner of the southwest tower the rock begins to fall away so rapidly that the citadel cannot have extended further in this direction. On the other hand, we cannot reduce the southern length, including the towers, to a point below which the distance between the towers became less than the length of the southwest tower itself. The total length is thus between 65 and 52 metres. The construction of the part preserved is so regular that we cannot be appreciably wrong in taking the ratio of length to breadth as about the same as the corresponding ratio between the dimensions of the southwest tower. Our reconstruction is based on this observation, with use of the minimum dimensions, 52 by 35 metres over all, and 39 by 26 if we disregard the corner towers." (Albright, *Bulletin* 52, p. 8.)

The two walls of the fortress are constructed on the casemate principle (AP, p. 121 and TBM III, pp. 14 ff.). The outer wall measured 1.20 m. thick and the inner wall only 1.00 m. Transverse partitions such as the one found in Room B (Pls. 28, 30, and 35, above) divided the narrow space between the walls into chambers or sections. Some of these sections were filled with debris while others were used as store-rooms with doors opening into the fortress. The total thickness of the wall

could be as much as 4.00 m. or just the thickness of the outside shell.

The casemate construction is an inexpensive and relatively effortless way of providing real strength and greater apparent strength to the fortification, whether fortress or city wall, besides offering storage space within the wall. Among Palestinian towns using the casemate principle in their walls are Tell Beit Mirsim (TBM III, Pls. 2, SE 14 and 24; 41:a; 42:a, b; and pp. 12-15) assigned to Stratum B<sub>3</sub> (ca. 1000-920 B. C.); Beth-shemesh (AS V, Fig. 1, pp. 23 f. and AS IV, Pl. IV:2, 3) from Stratum IIa (ca. 1000-950 B. C.); Shechem;<sup>1a</sup> Samaria (HES, pp. 99 ff., Plan 5; SS I, Pls. XVIII-XXII and pp. 97 ff.) dated to the ninth-eighth centuries B. C.;<sup>2</sup> Hazor (BA, XXI, Fig. 1, pp. 29, 46 f.; IEJ, 8, Pl. 2:A and p. 3) from Stratum X (the Solomonic city) which was re-used in Stratum VIII at the time of Ahab (see Area B, BA, XXI, p. 41); and Tell Qasile (IEJ, 1, Fig. 1, p. 64) from the late eleventh-tenth centuries B. C.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1a</sup> A casemate wall at Shechem was dated by Welter (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Arch. Anz.*, 1932, col. 309.) in the Early Iron Age and assigned provisionally by Albright (TBM III, p. 14) to the third quarter of the eleventh century B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Reisner (HES, pp. 99 ff.) assigned the casemate wall to his second [and last] Israelite phase of construction, which Albright (TBM III, p. 15) dated between 840 and 750 B. C. Kenyon (SS I, pp. 97 ff. dates the casemate to her Periods II-IV, with evidence that they were partially used in the Hellenistic Period. Periods II-IV are ninth-eighth centuries B. C. (SS I, p. 8 and SS III, pp. 94 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Maisler (Mazar) (IEJ, 1, pp. 200 ff.) distinguished three phases during which the wall had been used. These he called A, B, C, assigning them to Strata IX, VIII, and VII respectively. Following G. Van Beek, we suggest a redating of the wall on the basis of the pottery and architecture. The pottery from the wall of phase C consists of Pl. 34C, Figs. 10a and b, and Pl. 35A.

Pl. 34C is a large two-handled jug with ring base, hand burnished and decorated with a picture of a galloping horse. Typologically this is similar to a jug from Tell Abū Hawām III (QDAP, IV, Pl. XIII:79). The base is missing, but the upper part of the jug is painted in black and red bands and has a slight ridge halfway up the neck. The close burnishing of our piece is characteristic of the tenth century B. C. and painting as a means of decoration is replaced by burnishing in the tenth century B. C. and rarely found in Iron II. We can safely date this piece to the late eleventh-tenth centuries B. C.

Fig. 10a is a chalice which has a history beginning in the Late Bronze Period. Early examples are from the second phase of the Lachish temple (L II, Pl. XLVII:

The general pattern of construction consists of an outer wall and a thinner wall. The width of the outer wall averages about 1.50 m. at Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh, 1.80 m. at Samaria and

228-230) dated by Albright (*Bulletin* 74, p. 19) and Wright (*AJA*, 45, p. 634) to the fourteenth century B.C. The next form has a more even profile as illustrated at Megiddo (*M II*, Pl. 72:14, no base) from Stratum VII. The typological development is seen through VIB (*M II*, Pl. 74:19) and VII-VIA (*M II*, Pl. 79:11), ending in a crude form represented by *M II*, Pl. 87:24 from VB. On typological comparison our chalice can be dated to Stratum VI at Megiddo, eleventh century B.C. (See below Chapter III, n. 3).

10b is a one-handed flask with reddish slip, burnished, with a concentric circle design painted on its sides. A more elaborately painted flask is from Megiddo VI (*M II*, Pl. 86:2 and 3), having a similar form. Moreover, the fact that it is painted would indicate a date not later than the eleventh or early tenth century B.C.

Pl. 35A is a storage jar similar to CPP 43J5 from Tell el-Farah, Tomb 236, dated eleventh-tenth centuries B.C. Our jar fits into the sequence of this type which begins in Megiddo (*M II*, Pl. 71:13), Stratum VII (thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C.) and continues in Stratum VI (*M II*, Pl. 83:3) of the eleventh century B.C. This early type has a sharp angle at the shoulder and a knob base. A parallel form to Megiddo VI is found at Tell Abū Hawām IV (*QDAP*, IV, Pl. XXXVI:174). A later development, with the angle at the shoulder less pronounced, is illustrated by the example from Tell Abū Hawām IV (*QDAP*, IV, Pl. XXXVI:172, 173); and Beth-shemesh III (*AS IV*, Pl. XXXVIII:24). Wright notes (*AS V*, pp. 134f.) that the jars in Stratum IIa at Beth-shemesh, in contrast to those of Stratum III, are characterized by narrower bodies, higher necks (*AS IV*, Pls. LXII:40, 42, 43; LXI:4, 5) and a sharper angle where the neck joins the body [shoulder] (*AS IV*, Pl. LXII:42, 43). Typologically the Tell Qasile jar should be placed after the Tell Abū Hawām IV and Beth-shemesh III forms, because the ridge at the shoulders has almost completely disappeared. Moreover, it does not have a knob base as do No. 174 at Tell Abū Hawām and the Megiddo examples. Wright (*AS V*, p. 135) says that at Beth-shemesh the Late Bronze knob base continues through Strata III and IIa, but that the most frequent type of IIa is the pointed base. Therefore, our jar seems to have close affinities with the jars from Beth-shemesh IIa and we can safely place it in the early tenth century B.C. or Stratum IX<sub>1</sub> at Tell Qasile. A similar jar (*IEJ*, I, Fig. 8, p. 139) from IX<sub>1</sub>, which does not have the knob base, is less rounded at the shoulder and therefore typologically earlier than, but probably contemporary with, the form in Pl. 35A.

The early date indicated by pottery well suits the architectural evidence. The casemate construction was popular in Palestine in the eleventh and early tenth centuries B.C. (see above).

We tentatively assign the three phases of this wall to Strata XI, X, and IX. Future excavation should determine the correctness of our suggestion.

1.20 m. at Gibeah. The inner wall is about the same in all four places, averaging 1.00-1.10 m. thick.<sup>4</sup>

The casemate walls of Samaria show two techniques of arrangement. One is the more common casemate construction found along the west and south sides (see also Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-shemesh, Tell Qasile) and the other, appearing on the north side, is the transverse casemate with the axis at right angles to the wall, the chambers formed in the wall are proportionately longer than those of the more common casemate construction (*SS I*, Pl. II).<sup>5</sup>

In 1943 Albright concluded (*TBM III*, p. 15) that this type of casemate construction was most popular in the time of Saul and David, and was only occasionally used afterwards. In light of the casemate walls excavated at Hazor as well as of Yadin's study of Gezer,<sup>6</sup> it now appears that this

<sup>4</sup> As Albright remarks (*TBM III*, p. 14), in view of the fact that the casemate walls of Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh are contemporary and resemble each other so closely in plan, dimensions, and construction, they were probably constructed about the same time and perhaps under the same supervision.

<sup>5</sup> R. Naumann (*Architektur Kleinasien*, 1955, p. 288) calls these two styles of construction parallel-casemate and perpendicular-casemate, respectively. The casemate principle in city wall construction seems first to appear in Asia Minor in the Late Bronze Age during the period of the Late Hittite Empire (ca. 1400-1200 B.C.). Albright (*TBM III*, p. 14) has listed the sites in Asia Minor and Syria where this construction appears, along with necessary bibliography. Naumann (*op. cit.*, pp. 288 f.) mentions some of the same sites as Albright, and adds that a small casemate wall at Cerablus (Jerablus) was used in the construction of a flood gate.

One of the latest occurrences of a casemate wall was found at Mârib in South Arabia (Bowen and Albright, *Archaeological Discoveries of South Arabia*, Baltimore, 1958, Pl. 153 and p. 218). Unfortunately the cross walls are not drawn in Pl. 153, but see Pl. 154 in which the butt ends of the cross walls appear standing above the ruined top of the outside oval wall. The total thickness of the wall was ca. 4.00-4.50 m. at ground level, diminishing towards the top to ca. 3.60 m. (*ibid.*, p. 219).

The lower courses of the wall are dated to the seventh century B.C. and the upper fourteen courses of the remaining wall are fifth century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 222).

<sup>6</sup> *IEJ*, 8, pp. 80-86.

In *Bulletin*, 154, pp. 35 ff., Y. Aharoni suggests that the casemate walls of Tell Beit Mirsim B and Beth-shemesh should be dated to the time of Solomon instead of David. He refers to the similarities between these and those of Hazor, Gezer, and Tell Qasile. He has overlooked the casemate construction at Gibeah, which is clearly from the time of Saul; moreover, as pointed out above (n. 3), the casemate at Tell Qasile should be dated earlier than



particular type of casemate construction was also employed under Solomon (see discussion of Gibeah, Stratum III below).

The large amount of ash left from the destruction of Saul's fortress indicates interior wood construction, evidently with at least a second floor if not a third. The ash was studied by the late Mr. John Dinsmore, then the leading authority on the botany of Palestine (he collaborated with Gustav Dalman on the flora of Palestine) who identified carbonized cypress and pine. Presumably the builders used wood from scrub pine and cypress in the vicinity of Gibeah (ANNUAL IV, p. 7). It is interesting to note that these trees were growing here about 1000 B. C. and there is accumulating evidence to indicate that there was much forest in the hill country of western Palestine at that time.

Two features of the fortress remain to be described, the doorway and the apertures. Both were found during the first campaign and restudied during the second. The width of the doorway measures 85 cm. (Pl. 6, below). The apertures are fully described in ANNUAL IV, p. 9 and appear only in the tower on the east, south, and west sides (Pl. 28 and ANNUAL IV, Figs. 10, 12), admitting light and air to the first floor of the tower.

A fortress of the same general type, which is dated by Albright to the tenth century (*Bulletin* 52, p. 8), has been published from 'Ain el-Qudeirât (Kadesh-barnea; plans appear in *PEFA*, Vol. III, p. 65). Except for the fact that it is longer (60 by 40 m.) than our fortress, the plan and details are very similar, with the same ratio of 3:2 between length and breadth, and with similar double walls and towers.<sup>7</sup>

Fortress II was a rebuilding, following the same general plan of Fortress I. The masonry of this rebuilding is better than that of the first, as may be seen on Pls. 4; 5, left; 6, above; ANNUAL IV, Figs. 7-9, 11 (above), 15. Stones about half the size of those used in Fortress I, hammer-dressed, oblong-shaped and laid in courses, characterized

the new construction.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes, of course, older, coarser material was used, or there may have been later repairs. We find no evidence for a destruction of this fortress, which accounts for the considerable height to which the walls remained standing (ca. 3.00 m.) particularly in Room A.

The straight joint in the middle of the wall (Pls. 4; 5, left; 6, above; 33, left) is an interesting feature of its construction. In Fortress I we found straight joints only in places where one wall abutted against another. Whether this was intended or not, the straight joint in this case served the same purpose of preventing the fortress wall from collapsing if the tower were breached. In the second fortress, unlike the first, the walls of the tower were bonded into the walls of the fortress. Since the builders of II used I as a foundation, they presumably felt that they would have a more solid structure if the straight joints were not in a vertical line with similar joints in Fortress I.

Constructions using straight joints are not common later in Palestine; a similar mode of construction is found at the citadel in Jerusalem from the Hasmonaean Period.<sup>9</sup>

Bliss and Macalister excavated the citadel of Azekah (Tell Zakarîyah), published in *EP*, Pl. 3. The plan of this fortress does not offer a good parallel to that of Saul's fortress; the walls do not form a square nor are they double. The towers constructed in the middle of the northeast and northwest walls of the citadel have no parallel at Gibeah. Both fortresses share the common feature of having towers at the corners. The walls of the citadel form straight joints with the towers (*ibid.*, p. 16 and Pl. 5). Bliss and Macalister completely overlooked the possibility that such a relationship of the towers to the fortress walls could serve a defensive purpose. Bliss suggested (*ibid.*, p. 16) that the towers were constructed at a later time to fill breaches in the wall. This is possible for towers II and IV (*ibid.*, Pl. 5) which were constructed in the middle of the northeast and northwest walls, but why could not these towers have been part of an original plan? Macalister (*ibid.*, p. 16, note) suggests that the straight joints mark the place where two separate "gangs" of builders met.

Maisler (Mazar) has suggested. Therefore, we must recognize that the casemate technique began to be used in Palestine before David's time and there is no reason why David would not have used this technique during his reign.

<sup>7</sup> A fortress at Khirbet Ghazza (*IEJ*, 8, Fig. 2, p. 34) resembles that at Kadesh-barnea in plan and dimensions; the differences are few. The towers of the Kadesh-barnea fortress are larger than those at Khirbet Ghazza, and the latter has a divided courtyard.

<sup>8</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *QDAP*, XIV, Pl. LII:1, 2 and p. 137, which compares Philo of Byzantium, who, writing in the second century B. C.; remarks that the ancient practice was not to bond the tower to the curtain wall.



I suggest that the builders of the fortress had a plan in which the towers formed part of the original scheme. As to the date of the fortress, the excavators distinguished two periods (*ibid.*, p. 18), Pre-exilic and Hellenistic. The fortress with the towers seems to be Hellenistic in date.

Pl. 6, B is a view from Room G, past D, through the doorway into B. The construction of the stairway presumably occurred after the blocking of the doorway between Rooms B and D. Only two steps and a fragment of a third remained. Each step measured 1.00 m. by 25 cm. high (ANNUAL IV, Figs. 13, 14. In Fig. 14 the

masonry marked IIB belongs to II, in addition to the steps). The destruction of I left a considerable amount of debris in Room D which the builders of II, rather than clearing out, buried under a platform 2.30 m. wide and 1.90 m. high. A retaining wall (Pl. 6, below, running in a north-south direction across Room D) was constructed to hold the debris in place.

It should be noted in concluding this section that the building material was mostly of hard *mizzi* stone; the use of the softer *nâri* stone for construction had practically disappeared.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Miss Tufnell remarks that a similar high proportion of *mizzi* stone was used in the construction of Palace A at Lachish (*L III*, pp. 99 f.) which she compares with Fortress II masonry of Gibeah. We object to this comparison because the stones used in Palace A appear generally to be larger than those used in Fortress II (*L III*, Pl. 19:2), and as she says (*ibid.*, opp. Pl. 19), only the corner stones of the palace are hammer-dressed, serving as a quoin construction (*ibid.*, Pl. 19:1), while most of the stones of Fortress II show evidence of hammer-dressing and no quoin construction; moreover, the stones of Fortress II are more closely fitted, with no small stones used to fit the interstices (*ibid.*, Pl. 19:2). Both the walls of Fortress II and Palace A

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have well laid courses. For establishing relative chronology, we cannot rely on the percentage of *mizzi* and *nâri* stone used in construction, as exemplified at Lachish where Palaces B and C have 90% *nâri* stone and are presumably later than A (*ibid.*, opp. Pl. 19). On the other hand, Palace A and B masonry (*ibid.*, Pl. 19:1-3) shows a number of characteristics of the masonry of Fortress I at Gibeah, namely, rough-dressed stones with small stones filling the interstices, but in contrast to Fortress I masonry, the palace walls were laid in distinct courses. It is obvious that the palace construction is later than Fortress I, but it does not offer a good comparison to Fortress II masonry.

## CHAPTER III

### THE POTTERY OF THE PRE-FORTRESS PERIOD AND OF FORTRESSES I AND II

Two mace heads and a few sherds of Middle Bronze Age vessels, found during both campaigns, indicate minor occupation at this early time. The trumpet-foot from the first campaign (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXIX:7) is similar to types found at Megiddo, Strata XII-XI, and at Tell Beit Mirsim, Stratum D.<sup>1</sup> The mace heads and the trumpet-foot were found in the fortress complex and a sherd from the second campaign (not published) came from Room 15, part of the complex of buildings on the eastern slope of the mound.

Characteristic pottery from the Pre-fortress Period and Fortresses I and II is represented on Pls. 20 and 21, which complement the drawings of pottery in ANNUAL IV (Pls. XXIVb:1; XXV; XXVI:1-26; XXVIII; XXIX:1-14; XXX; XXXI; XXXII:23).

The second campaign produced additional evidence for the sequence of storage jars during Iron I. At Gibeah, in the pre-fortress occupation, sherds of the collar-rim type were found. There was also found a jar transitional between the collar-rim and the new variety closely associated with the time of Saul. This transitional type is also found at Beth-shemesh, Megiddo, and Tell en-Naşbeh. In Fortresses I and II were found more examples of the type of rim previously assigned to Saul.

The distinguishing feature of the Pre-fortress Period is the collar-rim storage jar (pithos) represented on Pl. 20:2, 4, 5, 9, 13 and ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXVIII:24. A reddish buff surface and a gritty dark gray or black core are usual characteristics. No. 9 was found in the fortress at the bottom of Room B, nos. 2, 4, 5 appeared in the debris outside the fortress to the north and east (no. 5 only), and no. 13 was discovered in Room 10.

The collar-rim pithos was exceedingly common in the first three phases of the Iron Age at Bethel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Albright originally identified the sherd with the "saucer on trumpet-shaped foot" from Tomb 96 at Gezer (ANNUAL IV, p. 13). Since 1922 our knowledge of Palestinian pottery has increased greatly, and the sherd must now be assigned to the Middle Bronze Age.

<sup>2</sup> Albright, *Bulletin* 56, pp. 12 f. and *AP*, p. 118. J.

Six examples are published from Megiddo (*M II*,

Kelso, *Bulletin* 137, Fig. 2, p. 7. An example from Megiddo, Stratum VIIB (*M II*, Pl. 64:8), is assigned to Locus 2064 (*M II*, Fig. 403) in Area BB. Locus 2064 is part of a structure that was bonded to the northwest corner of the second phase of the Temple (2048) by a masonry wall (*M II*, Figs. 256 and 403). The ruins of this structure were of unusual size, 14½ feet wide with a minimum length of 48 to 60 feet, probably used as store-rooms for jars of wine and of grain. Room 2064 is much smaller, about 12 by 21 feet. The excavators noted that most of the remaining construction of this building lay immediately beneath, or interwoven with, the foundations of a Stratum IV stable complex (*M II*, Fig. 258 and p. 105). Moreover, there were no structural remains of VI found in this area (*M II*, p. 105). It is possible that this collar-rim is from VIIA, but whether VIIA or VIIB, it is still within Iron I. This is not surprising because the collar-rim in question is found in the first three phases of Iron I at Bethel (see references above).

Shipton (*NMP*, pp. 4, 50 f.) dated Stratum VII at Megiddo to 1350-1170 B.C.; the excavators later (*M II*, p. 5) lowered the final date to 1150 B.C. Maisler (*Bulletin* 124, p. 25) dates the end of VIIB and VIIA at 1180 B.C. and 1100 B.C., respectively. Although the dates for VII should be lowered, they cannot be lowered so drastically.

The pottery of VII contains good Late Bronze types, i.e., *M II*, Pls. 63:3, 71:12 (found only in VII and VIII), 71:13, 68:15, 65:19, 66:6, 67:16. Wright and the writer visited the Oriental Institute in Chicago to study the pottery of Megiddo (see below n. 3) and found among VII pottery a number of Philistine sherds. We also noticed a flask of the Philistine period (a type much flatter than the characteristic globular style), a cooking pot rim, a flask with straight handles, and a decorated juglet, all of Iron I vintage (twelfth-eleventh centuries B.C.). In addition to these we found examples of imported Cypriote ring-base and milk-bowl or wish-bone handle ware among VII material. The presence of this ware indicates that Stratum VII was occupied before the end of Stratum C<sub>2</sub> at Tell Beit Mirsim, that is, before ca. 1220 B.C. (*OTMS*, p. 11). Albright did not find evidence of the wish-bone handle ware in B material (*TBM I*, p. 46).

It was obvious from our observations that VII does not have the fine painted pottery which characterizes the Late Bronze Age; such material is chiefly confined to VIII. Most of the Mycenaean ware is also from VIII. Albright found that most of the Mycenaean ware at Tell Beit Mirsim is confined to C<sub>2</sub> (ended ca. 1220 B.C.). We saw just one possible example of this ware among VII pottery, but it is not characteristic (published [?] *M II*,

Pl. 83:1), Stratum VI,<sup>3</sup> but none in V. In fact, a vast quantity of collar-rim store-jar sherds which

Pl. 86:12, marked VIIA-VI and *NMP*, Chart VI:14). A better example from VII is *M II*, Pl. 72:16, identified by Shipton (*NMP*, p. 9) as a true import of the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries B. C.

The general horizon of VII pottery seems to be near that of Tell Abū Hawām V, which is dated by Maisler (*ad loc.*) to 1300-1180 B. C. Because of the more extensive representation of Mycenaean ware in Tell Abū Hawām V, which is therefore an earlier occupation than Megiddo VII, we should lower his dates for VII. Occupation parallel to Megiddo VII is represented in Strata C<sub>2</sub>-B at Tell Beit Mirsim, third (13th century B. C.) phase of the Fosse Temple at Lachish (dated by Albright, *Bulletin* 74, p. 19 and Wright, *AJA*, 45, p. 634) and Stratum IVb at Beth-shemesh (1425-1200 B. C.). There are no good parallels between Megiddo VII pottery and Jericho; however, the pottery from the end of Jericho has many affinities to that of the second (14th century B. C.) temple at Lachish (as dated by Albright, *ad loc.*). Therefore, the latest Bronze Age pottery at Jericho seems to date from the fourteenth century B. C. This date has been confirmed by Miss Kenyon (*Digging Up Jericho*, p. 262), but she also indicates that remains of a later Bronze Age occupation may possibly have been washed away (*ibid.*; see also Wright, *AJA*, 63, pp. 91-2).

It seems obvious that Megiddo VII is transitional between the Late Bronze and Iron I Periods. Our pottery evidence is reinforced by linguistic evidence, a statue base of Ramesses VI (Breasted, *M II*, pp. 135 ff.) who reigned 1137-1132 B. C. Typical Iron I pottery is not sufficiently abundant in VII to indicate a time after the middle decades of the twelfth century B. C. Whereas we agree substantially with Maisler on the date of the end of VII, we should thus raise his dates three decades or so. Incidentally, this allows for a gap between VII and VI during which the battle described in the "Song of Deborah" must have taken place (see below n. 51). While clear evidence is lacking, it may be suggested that City VIIb was partly destroyed by the Sea Peoples early in the twelfth century B. C. (see Albright, *Historia Mundi*, Vol. II, pp. 354 f.). City VIIA, on the other hand, was violently destroyed by unknown attackers not long after 1140 B. C. (Albright, *OTMS*, p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> Shipton, *NMP*, p. 4, overlooks the collar-rim jars and is thus led to draw erroneous conclusions as to the date of VI. His dates are 1170-1100 B. C.

In an essay entitled *The History of Megiddo from the Thirteenth to the Ninth Century B. C.* (McCormick Theological Seminary, unpublished), p. 50, the writer suggested a modification of Albright's dates (1150-1050 B. C.) for VI to ca. 1075/1050-1025 B. C. on the basis of a new study of the pottery from Megiddo in the Oriental Institute. After again comparing his notes on this pottery with the published material, the writer is inclined to change his dates to 1075-1050/1025 B. C. Both Albright and G. Van Beek accept these new dates.

A brief account of the evidence collected is in order. In the VI material, an unpublished, completely hand-

Albright saw at Megiddo are from Stratum VI.<sup>4</sup> Similar forms were found in Beth-shemesh III (*AS IV*, Pls. LXI:1; XL:1, 2); Tell Beit Mirsim B<sub>1</sub> (*TBM I*, Pl. 26:18); Tell Qasile, eleventh century B. C.<sup>5</sup> (*IEJ* 1, Fig. 10:C); Tell en-Naşbeh

burnished juglet and two bowls (*M II*, Pl. 78:6, 7), continuously burnished and with spiral bands of paint, were examined. The bowls seem to be in the Philistine tradition, but the decoration is not Philistine. "Philistine" decoration was noted on a small, unpublished bowl which was not a Philistine crater and not of good paste. This evidence complements the published material of debased Philistine design, *M II*, Pls. 78:19; 85:4; 74:9 from VI. The crater on Pl. 78:19 may be compared to a piece from Tell Qasile, *IEJ*, 1, Fig. 6:8, Stratum X. Both have good Iron I profiles. Moreover, in the basement of the Oriental Institute were two beer jugs, a well-made crater, and another sherd of a crater with a swan's head, all marked VIIb-VIIA. One of the beer jugs of this group was marked Locus 2058 (Square 0-13). This locus is located behind the temple against a wall (*M II*, Figs. 403-4). A sherd was found in Locus 2092 just south of 2058. Both loci are in Area BB. The other Philistine sherds were found, one in Room 9 and the other in Room 8, both in the south, Area CC. It is clear from study of the stratification that the sherds in question from Area CC are VI. The sherds of Area BB are VIIA. Hence we have sherds of Philistine ware from VII and VI (this is in complete agreement with B. Maisler; *Bulletin*, 124, p. 23). This evidence, in addition to the published examples of Philistine ware from Stratum VI, indicates that we cannot date the beginning of VI much after the middle period of Iron I. Even though the number of distinct Philistine sherds is few in comparison with the large body of pottery from VI, it is important to remember that sites at a distance from Philistine centers generally yield less Philistine pottery.

There is nothing in Stratum V at Megiddo that is directly related to Philistine ware, except a crater. *M II*, Pl. 89:15 has an orange-brown slip with characteristic late burnishing outside and over rim to shoulder. In *M I*, Pl. 31:155, there is a Philistine crater accredited to V but poorly stratified.

Wright, in examining the Megiddo pottery, noticed that there is a close relationship between the pottery of Tell Abū Hawām IV, Tell Qasile X, and Megiddo VIA; and we should therefore place the end of all these strata in the second half of the eleventh century. See below n. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *AJA*, 44, p. 548.

<sup>5</sup> Maisler notes that a collar-rim jar (*IEJ*, 1, Fig. 10:C, p. 199) was found in Stratum VIII at Tell Qasile, dated to the ninth century B. C. Following Van Beek, we note that the pottery from VIII is not homogeneous, some of it being earlier. Such forms as the oil jar with shoulder cup (described *ibid.*, p. 202) and wheel-burnishing (*ibid.*, Pl. 36:A) date from about the ninth century B. C. On the other hand, a parallel to the large bowl (*ibid.*, Fig. 10d, p. 199) found at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM I*, Pl. 23:6) from the end of Stratum B,



(*TN II*, Pl. 2:22, 24, 26, 28);<sup>6</sup> Shiloh (Kjaer, "The Excavation of Shiloh 1929," *JPOS* X, pp. 87 ff.); and Samaria (*SS III*, Fig. 1:16).<sup>7</sup> Albright concludes as follows: "As it happens, the collared-rim store-jar is a 'type fossil' of great importance for Israelite chronology in the time of the Judges and United Monarchy, since it was found all over the hill country proper in the twelfth and eleventh centuries, but went out of fashion between 1050 and 1020 B. C.,"<sup>8</sup> just after the Philistine destruction at Shiloh.

Subsequent to the collar-rim and possibly contemporary with it in the middle of the eleventh century B. C. was a transitional form represented

ca. 950 B. C.; jugs similar to the one drawn (*IEJ* 1, Fig. 12a, p. 203) found at Tell Jemmeh (*CPP*, 34P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>) from Levels 184, 185; and pinched-lipped juglets (described *IEJ* 1, p. 205) are characteristic of Iron I. Moreover, the collar-rim can be dated typologically to the eleventh century B. C.

Since the loci for the pottery are not given, very little can be said concerning the relationship of the pottery to the architecture assigned to Stratum VIII. As has been shown above, the date of the casemate wall, one phase of which was assigned to VIII, must be raised. If some of the early pottery types described above come from the chambers of the wall, it serves as additional evidence for this interpretation.

<sup>6</sup> J. C. Wampler (*TN II*, p. 4) suggests that the evidence at Tell en-Nasbeh indicates that the "chronological limits of the collared-rim have not been definitely established." This doubt is fortified, in his opinion, by the appearance of the four collar-rim jars in Stratum III at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 17:85-6) and two examples in Stratum IV, one from IV filling. The rims from Stratum III are found in loci immediately above the court yard in front of the stables and palace court (cf. *M I*, Figs. 34 and 72, Loci 1572, 1596, 1491, 1481). Also, this evidence seems, Maisler maintains, to support his view (see above n. 5).

We can dispel this doubt when we consider a number of cogent facts: First, No. 86 was found in P 13, not in a building, so there is no locus or floor level associated with it. The closest structures are from VB, and Building 10 to the south is VA-IVB. The foundations of Building 10 cut across VI remains, and we can see how VI pottery would be found scattered among buildings of V (see *M I*, p. 5 and Fig. 6). It seems that this jar is intrusive and should be assigned to Stratum VI. Secondly, No. 85, of which only a sherd remains, also seems to be intrusive. A single sherd is not sufficient for sound comparative archaeological study. Therefore, we remain confident that the collar-rim store-jar is typical of early Iron I.

<sup>7</sup> The date of the collar-rim is particularly helpful in evaluating Miss Kenyon's conclusions regarding the date of Samaria I and II and Megiddo VB, VA-IVB, and IVA. See the writer's forthcoming article.

<sup>8</sup> *AJA*, 44, p. 548.

on Pl. 20:8, 11, 12, 18-20. It had a variety of surface coloring from brick-red through reddish-buff to buff, all made from gritty clay of dark gray or black. Albright identified similar transitional forms at Beth-shemesh III (*AS IV*, Pl. XL:3, 4; *AS V*, p. 129). This type also appears at Tell en-Nasbeh (*TN II*, Pls. 1:8; 2:18, 21);<sup>9</sup> Megiddo in Stratum VI (*M II*, Pl. 83:4); and Hazor (*Hazor I*, Pl. XLVIII:15).<sup>10</sup>

The jar rims from Fortresses I and II represent a new type which replaces the collar-rim. This new type is seen on Pl. 20:3, 6, 14-17 and ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXVIII:17-23. A reddish-buff or buff surface and a gritty dark gray core are characteristic. Nos. 14 and 15 were found in Room A from the period of Saul, while the others appeared outside the fortress in debris to the north and west. We have parallels at Tell en-Nasbeh (*TN II*, Pls. 1:10; 2:12, 14, 15). It seems that this style was limited to the general period of Saul, with probable extensions backward and forward.

Another dominant feature of the pottery during this period under discussion was the dark red, irregularly hand-burnished ware. Examples: Pl. 20:1; ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXVI:1-26. Clay used was usually "gray, drab, or black, burned to a buff, orange, red, or brown."<sup>11</sup> Room B of the fortress yielded examples from the second campaign.

The following characteristics of this type of ware from Fortresses I and II may be listed:

1. Irregular hand-burnishing on dark red slip (ocher, hematite clay containing iron peroxide) covering the entire outer surface (see Pl. 16A: 3, 4, 6, 9-11). Very typical of Iron I in Pales-

<sup>9</sup> We are now in a much better position to discuss the sequence of storage jars than was Wampler in 1947 (*TN II*, p. 4). He designates nos. 16-23 and 26-28 as representative of the collared rim. In view of the Gibeah evidence, I should delete no. 27 and add no. 24. I should group no. 27 with 8, 18, and 21 as the transitional type, along with 52. See Albright, *JNES* 7, p. 204. There are no examples of the collar rim mentioned or found at Lachish.

<sup>10</sup> This sherd was found in Locus 91 within Building 71 (the pillar building) and assigned to Stratum VIII (ninth century B. C.) by the excavators. (In *Hazor I*, Pl. CLXXII, this locus is in the area previously excavated by Garstang.) Since it is only a sherd from a disturbed area, it cannot be used as a dating criterion, but on the basis of typology we may date the sherd to about the 11th century B. C.

<sup>11</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 11.



tine, it became antiquated after the beginning of Iron II.<sup>12</sup>

2. Irregular hand-burnishing on the original surface.
3. In some cases the hand burnishing has a criss-cross pattern of lattice work (see Pl. 16A:4).
4. No evidence of wheel-burnishing.<sup>13</sup>

These techniques of burnishing were first adequately dated by Albright with evidence gained from the first campaign at Gibeah<sup>14</sup> and confirmed by the results of the second campaign. Other examples from Iron I are common. Examples were found at Beth-shan V (G. Fitzgerald, *The Four Canaanite Temples at Beth-Shan*, Vol. II, Pl. XLVII: 5, 8, 11),<sup>15</sup> Tell Qasile X (*IEJ*, 1, Pl. 28:2), and Megiddo VB<sup>16</sup> (*M I*, Pl. 30:117-

<sup>12</sup> No examples of chordal burnishing, i. e., wide bands of parallel burnished strokes, with the center of each stroke roughly at right angles to the radius of the bowl (*TBM I*, Pls. 27:28; 51:13, 17, pp. 67 f.) which flourished in Iron I, were found at Gibeah.

<sup>13</sup> See J. Kelso and J. Thorley, *TBM III*, pp. 105 f. Note Albright's statement in *ANNUAL IV*, p. 11. The fact that no examples of wheel-burnishing were found associated with the period of Saul's fortress was confirmed by results of the second campaign.

<sup>14</sup> *TBM I*, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> These are marked "Rameses II." Wright, *AJA*, 45, p. 485, dates this level to the eleventh-tenth centuries B. C.; cf. Albright, *TBM II*, p. 77.

<sup>16</sup> Albright (*TBM III*, p. 29, n. 10), H. G. May (*JBL* LXIII, pp. 191-195), and Wright (*BA* XIII, p. 42) have proved that we must distinguish Strata VB, VA-IVB, and IVA at Megiddo. IVA is the period between ca. 918 and 815 B. C., VA-IVB is Solomonic, and VB was originally dated by Albright as ca. 1050-975 B. C., revising the date of the excavators (1060-1000 B. C.). Wright dated the beginning of VB to ca. 1025 (Albright agrees). The writer's study of Megiddo (see n. 3 above) indicates that VB material remained within Iron I, little removed from that of Stratum VI. Pottery strongly resembling VB was found at Beth-shemesh IIa (ca. 1000-950 B. C.). The destruction of VB can be dated well before the destruction of Tell Beit Mirsim B (ca. 918 B. C.) and probably after the end of Fortress I (Saul's) at Gibeah. We may add that according to the transmitted order of the Biblical sources (I Kings 9:11 ff.; II Chron. 8:1 ff.) Solomon built his chariot cities in the last phase of his reign (ca. 961-922 B. C.). The end of VB did not fall before ca. 960-940 B. C.

The dates for VB are ca. 1025/1000-960/940 B. C. The material in the stratum comes mainly from the end of VB and is certainly tenth century.

A recent discussion of the redating of the Megiddo strata by Miss Kenyon appeared in the pottery volume of Samaria (*SS III*, pp. 199 ff.). For an evaluation of her arguments, see the writer's forthcoming article.

120). Furthermore, Wright and the writer found an unpublished example from Stratum VI. Albright states that ware with burnishing "appears suddenly at the opening of the Iron Age."<sup>17</sup> To this evidence may be added the ware found at Tell Beit Mirsim where this type of pottery began in B<sub>2</sub> (11th century).<sup>18</sup>

While making its first appearance at Beth-shemesh in III, this ware is found much oftener in II, but since burnished pottery was rare in III, "this technique was not introduced before the end [i. e., the last decades] of the eleventh century."<sup>19</sup> Wherever this ware is found, the essential effect was "the complete effacement of the Canaanite culture."<sup>20</sup> This pottery begins at Megiddo in VI with only one or two examples but becomes more abundant in VB, at Tell Beit Mirsim B<sub>2</sub>, and elsewhere in the eleventh century; it therefore began well before the end of the eleventh century and lasted into the tenth century B. C.<sup>21</sup>

Cooking-pot rims are also typical of this period (Pl. 21 and *ANNUAL IV*, Pls. XXIVb:1; XXV). "The ware is black or dark brown, burned red, dark red, and brown. The rims are always everted, and usually molded in more or less complicated profiles, painted, carinated, or rilled (*ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXV:25-26). The bowl is carinated below the rim, and has no base, though the bottom is somewhat flattened so that the vessel may stand."<sup>22</sup> These rims appeared in the fortress as well as in the bottom level in the building complex on the eastern slope of the mound.

The paucity of this type of cooking pot in other sites in Palestine which faced Albright in 1922<sup>23</sup> has been adequately corrected with the material from numerous excavations which have been carried on since then. Wampler in his discussion of the pottery from Tell en-Nasbeh (*TN* II, nos. 979-980, 982-984, pp. 93 f.) has listed the comparative

<sup>17</sup> *ANNUAL IV*, pp. 12 f.

<sup>18</sup> *TBM I*, Pls. 24:34; 25:9, 24; 28:2, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Wright, *AS V*, pp. 131 f. Note examples of burnishing in *AS IV*, Pl. XXXVIII:15-19 (III) and Pl. XLIII (II).

<sup>20</sup> *M I*, p. 164.

<sup>21</sup> See below Chapter V for a discussion of wheel-burnishing.

<sup>22</sup> *ANNUAL IV*, p. 10. Albright there says that "There are always two handles on this type of pot." In light of the evidence from the second campaign of Gibeah, he has revised this statement to read, "These pots sometimes have two handles."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

material up to the time of publication.<sup>24</sup> We add evidence from Stratum VI at Megiddo (*M II*, Pl. 85:15, 16); the second and third phases of the Fosse Temple at Lachish (*L II*, Pl. LVI:364, 367);<sup>25</sup> Tell Qasile XII-X (*IEJ*, 1, p. 135), IX<sub>2</sub> (*IEJ*, 1, Pl. 27:D); and Hazor (*Hazor I* has numerous Late Bronze I and II cooking pots from Areas C and D. See especially Pls. CXXXVIII, CXXXIX, LB I; and CVII, LB II). This type of cooking pot extends from the 14th to the 10th century; it is very common in Late Bronze and Iron I deposits.<sup>26</sup>

M. Dothan (*'Atiqôt*, 1, p. 36) has subdivided the cooking pot rims of Afula (*'Affûleh*) IIIA into three groups:<sup>27</sup> slanting rim (*ibid.*, Fig. 12:

<sup>24</sup> In relation to the dating of the levels at Beth-shan, Wampler does not cite Wright's review in *AJA*, 45, p. 485, in which the latter changes Albright's dates for the end of Beth-shan VI, 13th-12th centuries (*TBM II*, p. 77) to the 11th century. For the date of Beth-shan V, see n. 15 above.

<sup>25</sup> Albright (*Bulletin* 74, p. 19) and Wright (*AJA*, 45, pp. 634 f.) date Temples II and III to the 14th and 13th centuries B. C., respectively. See also de Vaux, *JPOS*, 20, pp. 54-56.

<sup>26</sup> Our conclusion is in agreement with the distribution of this type of cooking pot at Beth-shemesh, *AS V*, p. 132. Note that we lack examples of this type in Iron Age Lachish.

<sup>27</sup> Dothan divides Stratum III at 'Affûleh into IIIA and IIIB, dating them (*'Atiqôt* 1, pp. 51 f.) 1150-1050/1025 and 1200-1150 B. C., respectively. We suggest a lowering of the dates on the basis of pottery evidence.

The jar rims illustrated in *ibid.*, Fig. 11:1-24 (IIIA) and Fig. 16:1-3, 5-20 (IIIB) are correctly compared by Dothan to forms at Megiddo VIIIB-VI, but he neglects to mention the similar forms from Saul's fortress at Gibeah (*ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXVIII:1-16). The deep bowls (*'Atiqôt* 1, Fig. 12:15-31, IIIA; Fig. 17:11-24, IIIB) cannot be restricted only to comparative types from Megiddo VIIA, but such bowls continued in use and appeared in Megiddo and in Tell Beit Mirsim B (*TBM I*, Pl. 51:17; this particular bowl is hand burnished and probably belongs to B<sub>2</sub>-B<sub>3</sub>). The pyxoid jug (*'Atiqôt*, 1, Fig. 14:15 and Pl. 11:4, IIIA; Fig. 18:11, IIIB) is decorated with bands of paint. Dothan correctly notes that the jug from IIIA is a parallel to one at Megiddo in Stratum VI, but I would call attention to the similar jug from Tell Abû Hawâm, Stratum III (*QDAP*, III, Pl. XXIII:19 and *QDAP*, IV, p. 20:61) which begins ca. 1000 B. C. (*Bulletin* 138, p. 38; also see below, n. 52).

Additional evidence is the Philistine crater (*'Atiqôt* 1, Fig. 15:2) which has a slightly more wavy profile than the other Philistine sherds (*ibid.*, Fig. 15:1-8). This crater does not have the characteristic Philistine design but is decorated with painted bands around the body. The wavy (cyma) profile is characteristic of B<sub>2</sub> at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM III*, p. 9), the age of Philistine pottery, which ended ca. 1000 B. C. It seems that

5, 7); rounded rim (*ibid.*, Fig. 12:6, 8); and concave rim (*ibid.*, Fig. 12:2-4, 9-13.) His third group is the commonest of IIIA while the other two groups seem to be earlier. He therefore suggests that his third group can be used as a chronological criterion. In light of the Gibeah evidence this does not seem to be true. Since Gibeah, Fortress I, is from the time of Saul and contemporary with Afula IIIA, we would expect the cooking pots of Fortress I to have a majority of concave rims. This is not the case. A study of the Gibeah material indicates that we have a variety of slanted, rounded, and concave rims.

Dothan (*ibid.*, p. 37) next makes the very interesting observation that handles do not occur on the cooking pots of Afula IIIA and Megiddo VIB. (This is difficult to prove since most of the examples published are only sherds.) They do appear at Megiddo VIA (*M II*, Pl. 79:6); Stratum III at Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pl. LXII:36-37); Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 47); Tell Beit Mirsim from Stratum B<sub>3</sub> (*TBM I*, Pl. 27:10) and at Gibeah, Fortress I. We would expect some at Afula IIIA, also. In any case, the first appearance of the handles on the cooking pots seems to date about the third quarter of the eleventh century B. C. This is a much better criterion for chronology than the rims of the pots.

Aharoni (*Hazor I*, p. 11) says that the cooking pots with the short triangular rim and sharp carination found at Hazor in Strata IX-X (*Hazor I*, Pl. XLV:18-22) dated tenth century B. C. and in VIII<sup>28</sup> (*ibid.*, Pl. XLVIII:1-3) from the ninth century B. C. are typical of the transition from Iron I to Iron II. He lists forms comparable to

this, while within the Philistine tradition, is not characteristic, and indicates a later date.

From this evidence it seems that we should lower the date for the end of IIIA to ca. 1000 B. C. There were no sherds of Philistine ware found in IIIB, but the pottery shows a close affinity to IIIA. Probably IIIB was destroyed by the Philistines, at least after the middle of the twelfth century B. C. The appearance of a classical collar-rim (*'Atiqôt* 1, Fig. 16:4) suggests moving the date down for the end of IIIB to the late twelfth century B. C., in round numbers ca. 1125 B. C.

<sup>28</sup> Iron I cooking pots do not occur at Hazor after Stratum VIII (9th century B. C.) in Area A. Their sporadic appearance in Stratum V (8th century B. C.), Area B, is doubtless due to an intrusion; since Stratum V in Area B is the lowest stratum excavated in the first season, there might be a mixture of earlier material. We must, however, withhold final judgment until additional material has been published from Hazor.



those of IX-X (*Hazor I*, p. 11, n. 7) from Stratum III at Tell el-Far'ah, near Nablus (*RB*, 62, Fig. 17:7) and *niveau intermédiaire* (*ibid.*, Fig. 19:4, 14); Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 40) marked V-IV, and Samaria (*SS III*, Fig. 3:13-30, not Fig. 2). He (*Hazor I*, p. 11, n. 8) also lists a form similar to those of VIII from Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 46:983).

This statement is essentially correct. However, the forms at Tell el-Far'ah and Megiddo do not show sharp carination and the Samaria volume shows only rims, no carinated bodies being reproduced. Sharply carinated pots begin at Gibeah in Fortress I, late eleventh century B. C. (see Pl. 22:2-4, 7, 9). Tenth-century forms are found at Beth-shemesh IIa-b (*AS IV*, Pls. LXII:45; LXIII:32) and Tell Abū Hawām III (*QDAP*, IV, Fig. 10). It seems that the short triangular rim with sharp carination begins in the late eleventh century and extends through the tenth century B. C.

The two specimens of horizontal bar-handles from the period under discussion, found during the first campaign (*ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXX:15, 16), are photographed on Pl. 15B:6, 7.<sup>29</sup> Albright noted that all of the specimens were "from bowls continuously or semi-continuously burnished in the technique of the first two periods." The handle may be described as "a semi-cylindrical bar of clay, adhering to the surface, and running around the vase just below the rim, with conical, spatulate, or nail-head expansions at the end."<sup>30</sup>

Similar handles were found at Beth-shemesh IIb (*AS IV*, Pl. XLIII:31); in Stratum IVA at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 24:37-39);<sup>31</sup> at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Fig. 31, left, second from bottom) dated 1200-1050 B. C.; Hazor VIII (*Hazor I*, Pl. XLVII:14) and VII (*ibid.*, Pl. XLIX:20, 22) from the ninth century B. C., VI (*ibid.*, Pl. LI:21, 23) and V (*ibid.*, Pl. LIV:3) from the 8th century B. C., IV (*ibid.*, Pl. LXIX:25, 27, 32) and III (*ibid.*, Pl. LXXVII:7; very badly worn sherd, clearly out of context) from the seventh century B. C.; Samaria (*SS III*, Fig. 1:3) from Period I (*ibid.*,

Fig. 3:15), from Period II (*ibid.*, Fig. 16) for the most part from E207 which is contemporary with IV-VI (*ibid.*, p. 137); and Afula (*Atiqôt*, 1, Fig. 19:5) from the eastern cemetery, contemporary with Stratum IIIA (*ibid.*, p. 49).

In discussing the appearance of the spatulate bar-handles at Tell Beit Mirsim, Albright says that "this type of handle, which survived in central Palestine at least into the ninth century, as we know from Samaria (*HES*, p. 280, nos. 14a, 20a) was also at home in Syria and Mesopotamia, where I found it in an EI context at Tell es-Súwar on the Ḥabûr."<sup>32</sup> Wampler argues that since this type of handle exists in EI, MI, and possibly into the sixth century B. C. on the basis of evidence at Megiddo and Tell en-Naşbeh, the "bar-handle does not prove a reliable dating criterion for EI and slightly later."<sup>33</sup> Olga Tufnell suggests that we must establish a sequence centered around the position of the handle in relation to the rim; the higher the handle, the later.<sup>34</sup> This seems to fit the evidence at Lachish (*L III*, Pls. 81:103, 104; 99:604) where the handles are either even with the rim (103) or projecting above the rim (104). The bowls with bar-handles from Strata II-III<sup>35</sup> at Megiddo (*M I*, Pls. 24:36; 58:36) do not fit into this scheme.

We can conclude from the evidence that the spatulate bar-handle did not begin before the eleventh century B. C. and was very common during the remainder of Iron I. The end of this type is not clear, but must have come during the Iron II Age, in the ninth and, at latest, eighth century B. C.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *TBM I*, Pl. 25:1, 7, 16, p. 73. Also Pl. 28:12.

<sup>30</sup> *TN II*, p. 38. Examples from Tell en-Naşbeh are found on Pl. 60:1378-1391.

<sup>31</sup> *L III*, p. 265.

<sup>32</sup> For the dates of Strata III and II at Megiddo see *TBM III*, p. 2, n. 1 and the writer's forthcoming article.

<sup>33</sup> A large bowl with bar-handles was unearthed at Tell el-Far'ah (near Nablus; *RB*, 54, Fig. 3:11, p. 581) and assigned to Iron I. The handles do not have the thickened ends. This is the first published of its kind which came from a Palestinian site.

A similar bowl, with the plain bar-handle located farther down the side of the bowl than the one at Tell el-Far'ah, was found in an Iron Age Grave, YC72, at Carchemish (*AAA*, 26, Pl. XXIV:B32). The date of the tombs in the cemetery range from 10th-8th centuries B. C., with no clear evidence for exact dates. On the basis of the Tell el-Far'ah bowl, we can offer a 10th-early-9th century date for burial YC72 at Carchemish. This date is earlier than most of the other burials,

<sup>29</sup> Albright says that six examples were found during the first campaign (*ANNUAL IV*, p. 14). None was found during the second campaign.

<sup>30</sup> *ANNUAL IV*, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Albright dates Stratum IVA at Megiddo to 918-815 B. C. *TBM III*, p. 2, n. 1. Two examples of bar-handles from Stratum V at Megiddo are considered intrusive; the bowls are wheel-burnished. *M I*, p. 169.

The black-burnished juglet drawn in ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXXII:23 stands out as an early example in the sequence of this type. All of the sherds of this style juglet were attributed in 1922 to the second period.<sup>37</sup> Albright points out that the long-necked, round-bottomed, graceful-bodied, black-burnished juglets represented by our example were earlier (Iron I) than the squatter, ubiquitous, black-burnished juglets of Iron II.<sup>38</sup> The earlier forms have their handles meeting the neck between the shoulder and the rim, of which we have numerous examples: Tell Beit Mirsim B (*TBM I*, Pls. 31:36; 51:2, 3); Tell en-Naşbeh, Iron I (*TN II*, Pl. 42:846-850); Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 88:322, 324 in Tombs 107 and 218); Beth-shemesh IIA-b (*AS IV*, Pls. XLIV:31-32; LXVI:30) and Tomb 1<sup>39</sup> (*PEFA*, II, Pl. 24:14); *ed-Dāherîyeh* (*QDAP*, IV, Pls. 62: Fig. 2, top no. 6; 63: middle no. 6);<sup>40</sup> Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pl. LIX:73b);<sup>41</sup> and Stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo (*M II*, Pl. 88:11).<sup>42</sup>

Albright, in a discussion of the black-burnished juglet in 1932, mentions comparative material which indicates a chronological distribution from the twelfth to the tenth century B. C.<sup>43</sup> Wright concludes from the evidence at Beth-shemesh and

which were cremations, but Woolley notes (*ibid.*, p. 34) that the vessel of this burial "rested on the unburnt bones of an adult lying loose in the soil."

De Vaux (*RB*, 62, p. 587) has divided the Iron Age at Tell el-Far'ah into four strata. These he calls III, intermediate, II and I, with a gap between III and intermediate. He dates III, the level to which our bowl with the bar-handle belongs, to the end of the 11th—beginning of the 9th century. We substantially agree with this date, on the basis of comparisons with Megiddo VB, VA-IVB (including a few ninth century forms which occur in IVA), at Tell Abū Hawām III and Beth-shemesh II.

Albright has called my attention to the fact that bar-handles perforated along the axis were found at Ras esh-Shamrah belonging to the 14th and 13th centuries B. C. The Iron Age bar-handles which are not perforated seem to be an off-shoot of the North Syrian type.

<sup>37</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 14.

<sup>38</sup> *TBM I*, p. 71.

<sup>39</sup> Wright dates Tomb 1 to the 10th-9th centuries, *AS V*, p. 136.

<sup>40</sup> Wright, *ibid.*, p. 137, dates this tomb to the 9th century. Wampler, *TN II*, p. 24, n. 67, suggests a date in the 10th century B. C.

<sup>41</sup> Also published in *CPP 73B3*, marked XIX Dynasty. Albright dates this level at Tell Jemmeh to the 10th century (*TBM I*, p. 79).

<sup>42</sup> For the dates of Megiddo VA-IVB, see above n. 16 and the writer's forthcoming article.

<sup>43</sup> *TBM I*, p. 71. Albright's present opinion is that

Tell Beit Mirsim that the juglet having a "round base with black or dark gray paste was rarely used before the end of the eleventh century."<sup>44</sup> It would seem that the black-burnished juglet had its beginning in the late eleventh century, rarely occurring earlier, and reaching its zenith in the tenth century.<sup>45</sup> During the ninth century this form started to give way to the squatter black-burnished juglet with the handle attached to the rim.<sup>46</sup>

the dating in *TBM I* of Tomb 59 and therefore 84 and 85 at Gezer is too high. For the date of Tomb 59, see below n. 62.

<sup>44</sup> *AS V*, p. 131.

<sup>45</sup> The earlier type of black juglet tends to have a longer neck (than our example) and a small disc base. Wright noted (*TBM III*, p. 30, n. 10) that the Megiddo juglets (*M I*, Pl. 5:129-133) are similar to the type in Beth-shemesh III (*AS IV*, Pls. XXXVII:22-3, 27; LXI:36). The Megiddo juglets are all from VB (except no. 129, which is marked "Schumacher's Works"). Similar juglets, also from VB, were published in *Megiddo II* (Pls. 87:16, 17; 146:2-4). This type of juglet does not appear after VB at Megiddo. A smaller juglet with shorter neck, presumably later, was found at Tell Abū Hawām III (*QDAP*, IV, Pl. XIII:91).

A form contemporary with the disc-base juglet and which outlived it has a button base; examples come from Megiddo VA-IVB (*M II*, Pl. 146:22, 23) and VB (*M I*, Pl. 5:124; the type drawn is from Locus 398). The button-base juglet found at Hazor (*Hazor I*, Pl. XLVIII:4) is assigned to Locus 92, Stratum VIII. Locus 92 (as Locus 91 mentioned above) is located in the area previously excavated by Garstang. Moreover, this juglet is represented only by a sherd. It seems that this juglet should be dated on typological grounds to the 10th century B. C.

<sup>46</sup> This is in agreement with Albright (*TBM I*, § 113) and Wright (*AS V*, p. 139), but not with Wampler's 10th-century date (*TN II*, pp. 24 ff.).

The Iron II type of juglet is found in Stratum IVA at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 2:50, 51, 54); Beth-shemesh IIB-c (*AS IV*, Pl. XLIV:33); Tell Beit Mirsim A<sub>1</sub> (*TBM I*, Pl. 68:1-12, 15-32; *TBM III*, Pl. 18:1); Tell el-Fûl tombs (*PEFQS*, 1915, Macalister dates the tombs to Persian-Hellenistic; Albright, *TBM I*, p. 76, prefers Iron II); Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 43:863-871); and at Lachish, Tomb 1002 (*L III*, Pl. 88:309-313, 319, 320). A careful study of the material from Tomb 1002 suggests redating layers 11-13 to the late-10th—early-9th centuries, layers 6-10 to the 9th century, layers 1-5 to the 8th century. Moreover, Miss Tufnell's date (*ibid.*, p. 303), for the beginning of the squat juglet may be raised from the 8th to late-10th or early-9th century B. C.

Miss Tufnell's chronology is strongly influenced by that of Miss Kenyon. The earliest ware of the Samaria houses, in the first decade after the founding of the city, ca. 870 B. C., has a number of types in common with the latest ware of Megiddo VA-IVB, which came to an end ca. 918 B. C. (see the writer's forthcoming article).



From the evidence our juglet is well placed at the beginning of the tenth century B. C. and should therefore be assigned to Fortress II, subsequent to Saul's fortress.

ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXVIII:1-16 shows jug rims of various types all from Pre-fortress or Fortresses I and II, mostly from the latter. "The most common color is buff (nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, 12-13 . . .); nos. 2 (outside), 5 (both sides), 11 and 14 (outside) have a white slip with a greenish tinge over the buff surface. Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16 . . . are reddish in color (light red to brown)." <sup>47</sup>

M. Dothan (*Atiqot* 1, pp. 35 f. has subdivided the jar rims found at Afula from Stratum III into five groups. The first group (1) has a thickened and rounded rim, (2) displays a thickened, slanting rim, (3) is characterized by a flat rim, (4) has a plain, rounded rim, and (5) shows a characteristic thickened or rounded rim without a ridge below the rim. He compares these to jars from Megiddo VIIB-VI (*M II*, Pls. 64:2; 73:8; 76:2, 3; 82:8, 9). Most of the Gibeah examples belong to the types of groups 1 and 2, except no. 15 (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXVIII) which is part of group 4.

Iron Age parallels were found at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM I*, Pl. 26:2) from Stratum B; at Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pls. XXXIX:33; LXI:22) from Stratum III; and at Megiddo VB (*M I*, Pls. 21:124; 57:124).

Dothan's third group does not appear after Afula IIIA and Megiddo VI, while his first two groups continue in the tenth century at Megiddo and Tell Beit Mirsim. A possible later development is seen at Megiddo in Strata IV-III (*M I*, Pl. 14:70); Hazor, Strata VIII-VII (*Hazor I*, Pls. XLVIII:12, 13; L:33, 34); Megiddo, Strata III-II (*M I*, Pl. 15:75); Hazor V (*Hazor I*, Pls. LVII:3, 4; LXVIII:3) and Hazor III (*ibid.*, Pl. LXXVI:2). Our rims seem to be correctly placed in the late-eleventh to early-tenth century B. C. <sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 12.

<sup>48</sup> We have no good examples of this type from the Iron Age at Lachish.

Wampler (*TN II*, pp. 75 f.) lists comparative material for this type of jar (*TN II*, Pls. 16:270, 272; 18:303, 305-308) which ranges in date from Middle Bronze to Iron Age. However, the type of jar illustrated at Gibeah does not appear at Megiddo before Stratum VII. (For the date of VII, see above, n. 2.) The sherds from Tell Beit Mirsim D (*TBM I*, Pl. 13:20-23) are Middle Bronze, with parallels at Bethel.

A more flaring rim is found on Late Bronze jars at

As for the handles (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXX:1-6; see Pl. 15B:1, 2) of our period, there is a sharp contrast between them and those of the subsequent period (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXX:8-14). The earlier loop-handles (no. 6) are all smooth, with a more or less perfect oval section, while in the later period they are nearly all ribbed. In general, "loop-handles of the Bronze Age are smooth, and this characteristic was retained in the first phase of the Iron Age, a very important datum for distinguishing pottery of this period from that of the second phase." <sup>49</sup>

We can now, on the basis of evidence from Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh, give an approximate date for the beginning of the ridged handles. At Tell Beit Mirsim, in a collection of pottery ascribed to the end of Stratum B, Albright found a mixture of handles showing oval section (*TBM I*, Pl. 27:7) and handles with ribbing (*TBM I*, Pl. 27:6, 34). Wright observed that most of the handles of Stratum II at Beth-shemesh still had an oval section, also typical of handles found in Stratum III (*AS IV*, Pl. LXII:55), "but on some of them can be seen a faint suggestion of the ribbing which is so characteristic of Iron II . . ." <sup>50</sup> (*AS IV*, Pl. LXII:56). We can safely date the beginning of the ridged handles to the first half of the tenth century, when they began to replace handles with oval section.

In ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXX:7, (Pl. 15B:3) "is a double handle, but of a hard, mechanical type that has nothing in common with the double handles of the Middle Bronze Age, which are of Nubian or Egyptian origin, belonging rather with the double handles of the Early Iron Age in Cyprus (Cypro-Phoenician)." <sup>51</sup> A parallel to this type was found in Stratum III at Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pl. XXXVIII:12, 13).

The piece of clay on a burnished sherd, Pl. 16A:6, forms a true knob handle, in contrast to the pinched variety. The former is conical while the later, flattened on the vertical side, produces a miniature vertical "ledge" handle. Wright

Megiddo. At present there does not seem to be any convincing evidence to indicate that the type of rims represented at Gibeah fit into a sequence of development beginning in the Middle Bronze Age. A stronger possibility is that we have a direct sequence starting in the Late Bronze Age and continuing into the Iron Age.

<sup>49</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 14.

<sup>50</sup> *AS V*, p. 135.

<sup>51</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 14.



found that the knob and pinched handles were restricted at Beth-shemesh to Stratum IIa and early IIb (*AS IV*, item 14, opp. Pl. LXIII and *AS V*, p. 137). However, Albright noted that both varieties appear at Tell Beit Mirsim B (knob, *TBM I*, Pl. 25:11; pinched, Pls. 25:17, 36; 30:31). Furthermore, he noted (*TBM I*, p. 66) that they occur in Iron I and II. The pinched handle also appears at Afula (*Atiqôt*, 1, Fig. 13:17) of Stratum IIIA.

Knob handles similar to our Gibeah example were found at Tell Abû Hawâm (*QDAP*, IV, p. 22:85) from Stratum III, tenth century B. C.;<sup>52</sup> Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pls. L:21m, 24h, k, j; XLVII:11, 12) from Levels 185-188, tenth-ninth centuries B. C. (see *TBM I*, pp. 74 f.; *AS V*, p. 143, n. 38); Tell el-Far'ah (south, *CPP*, 18:D<sub>3</sub>) from Tomb 237 dated to the 20th dynasty and (*CPP*, 24:N<sub>1</sub>) Tomb 229 dated to the tenth-ninth centuries B. C.<sup>53</sup> Since the earliest appearance of the knob handle is in the 10th century, our Gibeah example must be from Fortress II.

Turning now to painted pottery, the most interesting piece is found in ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXXI:7. A Cypriote importation, it has a "fine reddish-buff paste with a cream slip on the outside, on which barrels and lozenges are painted in black . . ." <sup>54</sup> This sherd is designated by Gjerstad as White-Painted I (*SCE IV*, Pt. 2, p. 245). Van Beek says that it could be either White-Painted I

or II. In any case, it is still within the eleventh century.<sup>55</sup>

A Cypriote White-Painted I bowl appeared at Megiddo (*M II*, Pl. 78:20; *NMP*, Chart VI:37)<sup>56</sup> from Stratum VI (1075-1050/1025 B. C.);<sup>57</sup> Tell el-Far'ah (south, *Beth-Pelet I*, Pl. XXXI:325) from Tomb 506, ca. 1000 B. C.<sup>58</sup> Cypriote White-Painted I ware is also represented by flask or barrel-shaped juglets from Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pl. LX:86), Rooms EM and EP in Level 185, dated to the tenth century B. C.;<sup>59</sup> and an unpublished example from Tell el-Far'ah (south) from Tomb 223 of the 22nd Dynasty (935-735 B. C.).<sup>60</sup>

Other unpublished pieces of White-Painted I ware were found at Beth-shemesh (*SCE IV*<sub>2</sub>, p. 245, n. 1) from Tomb 1, dated to the late tenth or early ninth century B. C. by Wright (*AS V*, p. 136); Beth-shan from Level VI (late Seti) dated by Wright (*AJA*, 45, p. 485) to the twelfth or early eleventh century B. C. (but probably eleventh) and from Level IV (*SCE IV*<sub>2</sub>, pp. 250-252).

In connection with this study we should note the examples of pottery showing Cypriote influence, that is, imitation Cypriote ware. Furumark (*CMP*, p. 126) points out that the jugs from Gezer (*Gezer III*, Pl. LXXXV: 2, 5, 6, 8) are imitations of Cypriote Geometric White-Painted I ware.<sup>61</sup> The jugs are from Tomb 59. On the basis of comparative study, the majority of the pottery of Tomb 59 is parallel to Megiddo, Strata

<sup>52</sup> For the 10th century date of Tell Abû Hawâm III, see Albright, *TBM III*, p. 6, n. 2 and Van Beek, *Bulletin* 138, pp. 34-38. The end of III cannot be as late as 815 B. C. as Maisler suggests (*Bulletin* 124, p. 4), but rather about the time that Shishak destroyed many Palestinian towns, ca. 918 B. C.

Van Beek (*ad loc.*) dates the end of Stratum IV and the beginning of III to ca. 1000 B. C., agreeing closely with Maisler who dates the end of IV to ca. 980 B. C. (*ad loc.*). Storage jars (*QDAP*, IV, Pl. XXXVI:172-174) in Stratum IV, particularly nos. 172, 173, are called a new storage-jar form by Van Beek (*op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 15) and designated as the type that succeeded the collar rim. In reality these jars are a continuation of a sequence from the beginning of Iron I (see above Chapter II, n. 3). However, the evidence for the end of IV still points to a time shortly after the end of Megiddo VI, as has been pointed out by Albright (*TBM III*, p. 6, n. 2) and followed by Van Beek (*Bulletin* 138, p. 38, n. 15).

<sup>53</sup> Several examples of knob handles were found at Lachish (*L III*, Pls. 81:90-102, 106-107; 99:589, 592, 593, 606, 607) with a range in date from ca. 1000-600 B. C. The closest to our example is Pl. 99:589.

<sup>54</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Following Van Beek in his Johns Hopkins doctoral dissertation, *The Chronology of Iron Age Cyprus Based on Syro-Palestinian Archaeology* (1953), p. 176.

<sup>56</sup> Shipton (*NMP*, p. 6) hesitates to call this bowl Cypriote; however, Gjerstad (*SCE IV*<sub>2</sub>, p. 249, n. 3) states that it is Cypriote-Geometric I, White-Painted I.

<sup>57</sup> See above for the discussion of the date of Stratum VI at Megiddo, which seems to be well established. Cf. Gjerstad, *Opusc. Arch.*, III, p. 85.

<sup>58</sup> In this tomb a scarab of the 20th Dynasty (*Beth-Pelet I*, Pl. XXXI:324) as well as a jug (*ibid.*, Pl. XXXI:326) which Furumark (*CMP*, p. 126, n. 3) calls sub-Philistine is dated by him to ca. 1000 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 121). The majority of the pottery seems to be from the late 11th and early 10th centuries.

<sup>59</sup> Albright (*TBM I*, pp. 74 f.) dates the destruction between Levels 184 and 185 to ca. 950 B. C. He agrees with Petrie (*Beth-Pelet I*, p. 4) that the occupation after the burning is from the time of Shishak. Albright (*Bulletin* 130, p. 10) dates Shishak 935-914 B. C.

<sup>60</sup> Gjerstad (*SCE IV*<sub>2</sub>, p. 242, n. 11) says that this piece is unpublished.

<sup>61</sup> See Furumark, *CMP*, p. 125, n. 5 and Daniel, *AJA*, 41, p. 69. Cf. Gjerstad, *Opusc. Arch.*, III, p. 99.

VIIB-VI, and can be dated to the first half of the eleventh century B. C.<sup>62</sup>

White-Painted I ware from Megiddo and imitation Cypriote-Geometric I from Gezer appeared in Palestine before 1050 B. C. This means that Cypriote-Geometric I cannot have begun in Cyprus at 1050 B. C. as Gjerstad (*SCE IV*, p. 427) argues, but must have had its beginning before this date, to allow time for manufacture and exportation. Therefore, a date of ca. 1100 B. C. is probable for its beginning in Cyprus.<sup>63</sup>

Cypriote-Geometric I ended in Palestine toward the end of the eleventh century B. C.,<sup>64</sup> with the

<sup>62</sup> Albright (*TBM I*, pp. 64, 71) dates Tomb 59 at Gezer to Iron I or 12th century B. C. Wright (*AS V*, p. 128), following Albright, dates it 12th-11th centuries B. C. Furumark (*CMP*, p. 126) dates it to his third stage of Philistine chronology which is contemporary with his Cypriote-Geometric IB, 1100-1000 B. C. (*ibid.*, pp. 126 f.). Cf. Gjerstad, *Opusc. Arch.*, III, p. 99. After careful study of the pottery of Tomb 59 it is clear that there exists a close affinity between it and the pottery of Megiddo VI (1075-1050/1025 B. C.). The only piece that does not fit this date is the black burnished juglet (*Gezer III*, Pl. LXXXIV:10) which is parallel to Megiddo VI-IVB (*M II*, Pl. 146:22, 23). It seems that this juglet is intrusive. The eleventh-century date for these Cypriote imitations is confirmed by the occurrence of similar jugs in Megiddo, Strata VII (*M II*, Pl. 71:15) and VI (*M II*, Pl. 73:9). The example from Stratum VII is closer in form and design. The example from VI is hand-burnished.

<sup>63</sup> The raising of the date for the beginning of Cypriote-Geometric I on Cyprus to 1100 B. C. is maintained by Albright (Leland Volume, *Studies in the History of Culture*, p. 35, n. 78 and *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 45, n. 22) and Van Beek, *Bulletin* 124, pp. 26-29. The same view is held by C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasiya* (Paris, 1952), pp. 348 ff. Furumark (*CMP*, pp. 122-128) formerly also argued, on the basis of Mycenaean evidence, that Cypriote-Geometric I must begin ca. 1100 B. C. His earlier work demonstrated a sound approach to the subject of Mycenaean pottery and the Cypriote problem. Later he changed his views (Gjerstad, *Opusc. Arch.*, III, pp. 71-103 and Furumark, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-265) to follow Gjerstad.

<sup>64</sup> A White-Painted II jug was found at Tell Abū Hawām (*QDAP*, IV, Pl. XIII:74) in Stratum III, which is dated to the 10th century B. C. (*Bulletin* 138, p. 36). This stratum is well dated by Van Beek despite Gjerstad's doubts (*Opusc. Arch.*, III, p. 86, n. 4). A bichrome II bowl appears at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 30:141) from Stratum VB (1050/1025-960 B. C.) and from Tomb 221B (*Meg T*, Pl. 72:8) which can be dated to the late 11th century. The pottery of this tomb is typologically later than Gezer Tomb 59 but still has many affinities with Megiddo, Stratum VI. Gjerstad (*SCE IV*, p. 249) adds an unpublished example from Megiddo V.

beginning of Cypriote-Geometric II, which lasted for only a short time.<sup>65</sup>

Other examples of ware decorated with bands of paint are drawn in ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXXI:1-6, 8-11. "We find four different techniques in use: 1) the bands of color are put on the natural surface of the clay, unburnished (nos. 2, 3); 2) the surface is burnished in a vertical sense (nos. 9, 10, 11, all from jugs); 3) a red slip is put on and burnished vertically (no. 8);<sup>66</sup> 4) the bands are painted over a white, cream, or creamy-buff slip (nos. 1, 5, 6)."<sup>67</sup> The colors used for painting are red, white, black, and lilac.

A discussion of the painted pottery from the Late Bronze to the Persian Period found at Megiddo is instructive and helpful for establishing an approximate date for our examples at Gibeah. In Stratum VII at Megiddo there is a tendency toward stylization in design which continues into VI and becomes the dominant form of decoration (cf. *M II*, Pls. 69:14, 16; 67:17, 19, from VII and VI material; *M II*, Pl. 84:5-8). We note that in contrast to VI, the VII material still exhibits some variety of motifs and freedom of treatment (see *M II*, Pls. 72:3; 64:4; 63:3). An exception in VI is found in *M II*, Pl. 76:1, which is a jug picturing a procession of animals of different species and a man carrying a lyre. It is done in red and black colors on a white slip surface, classified "Philistine" by the excavators. The variety of design still apparent in Stratum VI at Megiddo is lacking in V. The ware from V is generally decorated with horizontally painted bands of red, white, and black. This is true only for locally made ware; imported ware has more variety in design, especially that produced on the island of Cyprus. The band decoration seems to have begun in the eleventh century and it reached its peak in the tenth century B. C., as illustrated by the numerous examples from Megiddo VB and

The barrel juglet or flask is represented by an example from Tomb 229 at Tell el-Far'ah (*Beth-Pelet I*, Pl. XXXIX: 86D) of the 22nd Dynasty. The latest possible date for the end of Tell Abū Hawām III is ca. 918 B. C. (*Bulletin* 138, p. 38). The end of Megiddo VB is ca. 975/960 B. C. If we place the beginning of Geometric II in Palestine to ca. 975 B. C. it must have begun in Cyprus 25 to 50 years before, or 1025/1000 B. C.

<sup>65</sup> Van Beek, *Bulletin* 124, p. 27.

<sup>66</sup> We correct an obvious mistake in the text which reads no. 3. This example could not represent both painting on natural surface and on a red slip.

<sup>67</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 15.



VA-IVB. Our sherds from Gibeah would come at the beginning of this peak. The Megiddo evidence indicates that this technique of decoration was replaced by wheel-burnishing in Iron II. Note how few examples of painted ware occur toward the end of the occupation of Megiddo (examples from Stratum II are found in *M I*, Pls. 2:69; 9:3, 7; 23:12 and from Stratum I, *M I*, Pls. 1:7, 31; 9:1; 12:65).

From the above description of the pottery from Gibeah, we notice that the Pre-fortress Period was well within Iron I (twelfth to tenth centuries B. C.).<sup>68</sup> Rims of the collar-rim store-jar supply us with a good criterion for dating the Pre-fortress Period. It does not appear after the Philistine destruction of Shiloh (1050/1025 B. C.) or after Megiddo VI (1075-1050/1025 B. C.). It does appear in the first three phases of the Iron Age at Bethel and in Stratum B<sub>1</sub> at Tell Beit Mirsim (ca. 1230-1150 B. C.). The material from Fortresses I and II is clearly late eleventh century. If we connect the destruction of the Pre-fortress Period with the events described in Judges, Chapters 19, 20,<sup>69</sup> and leave an interval of several generations between that destruction and the beginning of Saul's fortress to allow for a lessening of the hostility of the Israelites, we can safely date the end of the Pre-fortress Period ca. 1100 B. C. or a little later.<sup>70</sup> The beginning of this

period is some time after the Israelites occupied the hill country in the thirteenth century B. C.<sup>71</sup>

The period of Fortress I, Saul's fortress, probably began soon after the end of Stratum VI at Megiddo. We notice that the collar-rim and the transitional-type rim occurred in VI, but not the type which is common in the period of Saul. This period at Gibeah began before the end of B<sub>2</sub> at Tell Beit Mirsim (ca. 1150-1000 B. C.), before the end of Stratum III at Beth-shemesh (1200-1000 B. C.), and during a time when Lachish was deserted.<sup>72</sup> Fortress I was violently destroyed, probably by the Philistines, at about the time of the battle which ended with Saul's death on Mount Gilboa (ca. 1000 B. C.). Fortress I can be safely dated ca. 1020-1000 B. C.

Fortress II is a rebuilding of I and was probably occupied immediately following the destruction of I. The pottery evidence points to an extension into the first quarter of the tenth century B. C., particularly the examples of hand-burnishing, cooking-pot rims, black-burnished juglets, and the knob handle. Fortress II shows ware similar to Megiddo VB (1025/1000-960/940 B. C.), but probably ended after the beginning of B<sub>3</sub> at Tell Beit Mirsim (1000-920 B. C.) and Stratum IIa at Beth-shemesh (1000-950 B. C.). It had a short duration and was abandoned, possibly after less than ten years of occupation (ca. 990 B. C.).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The Middle Bronze settlement was at best insignificant. See the opening paragraphs of this chapter.

<sup>69</sup> Albright, *ANNUAL IV*, pp. 48 f.; *Bulletin* 52, p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> On the basis of pottery evidence and the lowering of the dates of Saul (1020-1000 B. C.) we lower Albright's original date for the end of the first occupation of Gibeah in the Iron Age of about 1120 B. C. to the early 11th century. The new date fits in well with the chronology of this period. In Judg. 19, 20, as Albright pointed out (*ANNUAL IV*, p. 48), the destruction of Gibeah took place after the Danite Migration. Moreover, as Albright has shown (*JPOS*, I, p. 56 and *ANNUAL IV*, p. 48) the Danite Migration cannot be placed before the Song of Deborah. With evidence from Megiddo we are able to give the battle described by the Song of Deborah as having taken place between Strata VII and VI, a date ca. 1125 B. C. (Albright, *AP*, p. 117; *Biblical Period*, n. 52; *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, p. 13; and Wright, *BA*, XIII, p. 39). The destruction of Gibeah occurred after the battle described in the Song of Deborah, ca. 1100 or a little later, "when

Philistines were beginning their expansion and forcing the Hebrews into the hills" (Albright, *ANNUAL IV*, p. 48).

<sup>71</sup> For a discussion of the date of the Israelite occupation of the hill country, see Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957), pp. 277-279, and references there cited, and now Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (1957), Chapter V.

<sup>72</sup> Albright dates the end of the Bronze Age at Lachish to ca. 1220 B. C. (*OTMS*, p. 9, n. 1). The site must have been unoccupied during the 12th and 11th centuries B. C. because the first Iron Age level is 10th century in date (Wright, *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. V, p. 98).

<sup>73</sup> Albright has this to say (*ANNUAL IV*, p. 52): "Whether rebuilt by Saul's son or by his foe, the restored fortress had but a brief history; after seven years of inglorious rule Ishbaal was assassinated, and David united the two halves of Israel. Gibeah no longer possessed any value, either for sentimental or for military reasons, so the fortress sank into gradual ruin. . . ."

## CHAPTER IV

### THE BUILDING CONSTRUCTIONS OF PERIOD III (FORTRESS III)

Fortress III appears to be quite different from Fortresses I and II in plan and construction. The former served only as a military outpost and watch-tower protecting Jerusalem on the north, rather than as a residence. Since the excavator found pottery from the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. and none from the transition between Iron I and Iron II (late tenth and early ninth centuries), occupation of the site probably ceased with the end of Fortress II, with a resettlement about the eighth century B. C.

The builders of III constructed a quadrangular watch-tower or frontier fortress with strong revetments over and around the southwest tower of Fortresses I and II. Presumably the builders cleared away the remains of the citadel beyond the edge of the revetment to eliminate any protection the ruins might have afforded an enemy. In fact, the occupants of the hill in this and later periods so thoroughly removed the rest of the citadel while constructing the fortress and the houses on the eastern slope of the mound that the excavators could not find any trace of it outside the line of the revetment.

Fortress III stood on a foundation about four meters high consisting of massive walls and debris from previous constructions. Inside the revetments the outside of the fortress measured 17 m. across the southern side, diminishing to 16 m. at the north, and approximately 14.70 m. from north to south. The south and west walls rested on the south and west walls of the tower of Fortress II (cf. Pls. 30 and 31), being of similar thickness. In the west the builders almost completely missed the remains of the massive wall of the earlier fortress, and on the north and northeast they did not find any convenient walls on which to build. As a result, the walls in this area measure as much as a meter thicker than the south wall; presumably the builders substituted width of wall for solid foundation.

The plan of the third fortress exhibits a modified casemate arrangement (Pl. 31). In contrast to the normal arrangement of a thicker outer wall (see above, Chapter II), our fortress has a wider

inner wall. The outer wall, against which the revetment rests, is 1.10 m. thick, and the inner varies in width from 2 m. on the south and south-east to 3 m. on the north and west. No evidence of cross walls appeared, and presumably its great depth was completely filled with debris.<sup>1</sup>

Supporting piers characterized the interior construction of the third fortress (ANNUAL IV, A-D on Pl. XXIII, Figs. 23-26; Pl. 31, A-D). These piers stood on older walls which remained standing at different heights, a fact which accounts for the variation in the heights of the piers; B and C originally measured *ca.* 2 m. high and A only 75 cm. The oblong blocks, with an exceptionally high proportion of length to width and thickness, used in these piers reflect an earlier feature of Palestinian masonry during the tenth-ninth centuries B. C., as illustrated by the builders of the Solomonic city at Megiddo, Ahab's palace at Samaria (*HES*, Figs. 25, 26, p. 103; *SS I*, Pl. XII:1), and the so-called Solomonic tower in the outer wall of Gezer (*Gezer I*, Fig. 129, p. 248). The stones of Fortress III were hammer-dressed and not well hewn as is the case in our comparative material, but this should not obscure the basic similarity between our masonry and those mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

These piers were used to support a floor, since there were no windows in the walls below the top of the piers except those belonging to the second period. The revetments on the outside reached a point higher than the top of Pier B. There prob-

<sup>1</sup> It is unusual to find the classical Palestinian casemate construction in Palestine after the ninth century B. C. The casemate wall from Ramat Rahel (*IEJ*, 6, Fig. 9, Pls. 22-24, pp. 138 ff.), dated to the eighth century B. C., is very irregular in plan, and the fortress with casemate walls at Khirbet Ghazza (*IEJ*, 8, Fig. 2, p. 34), dated to Iron II, is also later in type. The city wall at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM III*, Pl. 3, pp. 14 ff.) from Stratum A (ninth-seventh centuries B. C.) was a continuation and repair of the tenth century walls.

<sup>2</sup> See Crowfoot's discussion of the masonry at Samaria, *SS I*, pp. 5-8; also Gus W. Van Beek, "Marginally Drafted, Pecked Masonry," in *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, by Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., and Frank P. Albright (Baltimore, 1958), pp. 287-295.

ably were more than just the four piers mentioned (see Pl. 31). It seems that two more were on either side of Pier C, and the remains of the wall west of Pier B may also have supported a pier, as well as the eastern part of the wall supporting Pier B. Likewise the wall supporting Pier D may have had another pier in line with Piers C and B. The probability is that there were at least nine supporting piers in Fortress III.

The remains of a protective revetment appeared on the north (ANNUAL IV, Fig. 17), west, and south sides (Pls. 5B, 7-10, 28) and presumably surrounded the fortress. The term "revetment" is here used of a sloping wall of masonry sustaining an artificially made embankment, although in some cases a low masonry wall at the front of the revetment is used to hold the earth in place. The term "glacis" is reserved for the slope from the top of the counterscarp or from the base of a wall toward the open country. A glacis in ancient Palestine was made of packed earth, usually covered with lime plaster.

The following description of the revetment on the north side of the fortress is given in ANNUAL IV, p. 19: "It was built on a foundation of larger stones, with a vertical outer face 60-70 cm. high. Above this it rose obliquely for a least 460 cm. at an angle of about 60°; the measured angle of 57° is more exact than warranted by the irregular surface of the glacis [revetment]. It is quite possible that the glacis [revetment] of the third period was higher than it was in the fourth, when it reached a total height (measured along its surface) of 560 cm. on this side. If it continued up to meet the outer wall, it must have been 650 cm. in length. . . ."

The date for the earliest revetment can be established on the basis of evidence collected during the second campaign. Digging below the foundations of the revetment toward the north on the west side, the excavator found Iron I sherds exclusively. The foundations then belong to the subsequent time of occupation, which has been determined by the pottery as not earlier than the eighth century B. C.

In 1933 a study of the revetment was continued

on the western side of the fortress. In this area the third and fourth periods could not clearly be distinguished, as is the case in the north. Coarse, uneven stones form part of the foundation of the revetment (Pls. 8, 9), while the large, rough, well-laid masonry appears to be characteristic of both Periods III and IV (Pls. 5B, 14). A small masonry wall serving no clear structural function rested on the southern revetment (Pl. 10A); after its removal (Pl. 10B) no structural change appeared in the original revetment wall.

Similar large, rough masonry used in revetment construction was found at Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN I*, Pls. 68:4, 69) along the great wall dated "Early Iron" (*TN I*, p. 195), and at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM II*, Pl. 113a) on the southern side of the mound dated to the Iron Age.

Stone slivers, charred potsherds and cinders from a fire filled the central chambers of the fortress to a depth of two meters. Apparently the second story of Fortress III was supported by wooden beams just as had been the case in Fortress I. Examination of the cinders showed a different type of wood, namely almond, used in construction, instead of the coniferous cypress and pine used in Fortress I (ANNUAL IV, p. 20). It seems that the coniferous forests had already disappeared from the environs of Tell el-Fûl.

Parallels cannot yet be found for the two vertical drains between the inner and outer wall on the north side of the fortress (Pl. 31 and ANNUAL IV, Figs. 21, 22) which came to light during the first campaign (ANNUAL IV, p. 21).

"The third fortress was destroyed and rebuilt once, as shown by the restorations of the inside walls, invariably poorly made, and the filling of the opening in the north-south wall just to the west of piers B and C (Fig. 15). Originally there was a passage-way here, with two similar piers flanking it."<sup>3</sup>

Pottery of the eighth or seventh century B. C. also came to light in the house complex on the eastern slope of the mound, indicating that a small village occupied the mound at the time of Fortress III. Let us now turn to an analysis of the pottery from this period.

<sup>3</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 21.



## CHAPTER V

### THE POTTERY OF FORTRESS III

The pottery of the third period is more homogeneous than that of the Pre-fortress Period and Fortresses I and II, the burnished bowls appearing as the dominant type. "Ring" or spiral burnishing on the inside and over the rim characterizes the majority of our examples (Pls. 22, 17B; ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXVII). The burnishing is done on the red, reddish-buff or buff surface of the bowl; only one example of burnishing over a red slip appeared (Pl. 22:4) and one example with a cream slip (Pl. 22:6). The clay is gritty, brown, gray, or brownish-gray and fairly well fired. During the first campaign sherds of our bowls were found within the fortress, while the examples published from the second campaign are from the building complex on the eastern slope of the mound and in debris around the fortress. The technique of spiral burnishing has been studied and fully described by Kelso and Thorley (*TBM III*, pp. 105, 131-133). Gibeah examples appear on Pl. 16A:2, 5, 7.

The thickened-rim, ring-burnished bowls are exceedingly common in Palestinian Iron II sites. We will not take time to list all the comparative material, but in our discussion of the chronological sequence of spiral burnishing we call attention to the pertinent parallels.<sup>1</sup>

Albright has shown that spiral burnishing is common from the tenth or ninth to the sixth century B. C. (ANNUAL IV, p. 22; *TBM I*, p. 86). This technique in burnishing begins at Tell Beit Mirsim toward the end of B<sub>1</sub> (*TBM I*, Pl. 30:37, a small ring-burnished bowl) and Stratum IIb at Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pl. LXIII, nos. 6, 14, 15, examples of hand-burnishing). Moreover, at Tell Beit Mirsim the excavator recognized a transitional type of burnishing which existed between the Iron I hand burnishing and the Iron II spiral or wheel burnishing, which he designates as hand-turning, "a process which results in wavering, un-

certain lines, coarser than wheel made lines" (*TBM I*, p. 68). In connection with the bowl in *TBM I*, Pl. 30:37, he noticed that the earlier spiral burnishing tended to be broad and irregular (*TBM I*, p. 66 and *AS V*, p. 136). An important characteristic of this earlier burnishing is that it is inside the bowl, over the rim, and down the side of the bowl, in contrast to that of the later Iron II Age, when burnishing was usually inside and just over the rim (*TBM I*, p. 68).

To this discussion may be added the evidence from Megiddo, Samaria, and Hazor. The earliest examples of wheel-burnishing with wide strokes at Megiddo occur in Stratum VB (*M I*, Pls. 29:110; 30:120; no. 120 is photographed on Pl. 61).<sup>2</sup> Closer wheel-burnishing began in VA-IVB (*M I*, Pls. 24:35, 39; 25:68). Numerous examples of hand and wheel-burnishing on the same bowl were found at Megiddo beginning in VB (*M I*, Pls. 28:103, 106; 30:113, 116, 121, 124, 126 and others). In Megiddo VB burnishing continues over the rim and down the outside to about the shoulder (*M I*, Pls. 28:106; 30:114, 121, 126) or just above the shoulder (*M I*, Pl. 30:127).<sup>3</sup> In VA-IVB we have the next step in burnishing, inside and on the rim (*M II*, Pl. 89:8).<sup>4</sup>

At Samaria, Miss Kenyon notes (*SS III*, pp. 94 f.) that the predominant technique of burnishing in Periods I and II<sup>5</sup> was a combination of hand and wheel burnishing. This technique continues at Samaria into Period III (*SS III*, Fig. 4:10, 11, 19 [?]). Moreover, the first completely

<sup>2</sup> Examination of the photographs of bowl 120 indicates that the burnishing seems to be wide-stroke wheel burnishing rather than irregular hand burnishing, as described by Lamon and Shipton, *M I*, opp. Pl. 30.

<sup>3</sup> This bowl is not burnished to the shoulder as described in *M I*, opp. Pl. 30, but only half-way to the shoulder; cf. *M I*, Pl. 61:127.

<sup>4</sup> We cannot agree with Miss Tufnell (*L III*, pp. 262 ff.) that wheel burnishing did not begin until 800 B. C. A large bowl with wide-stroke burnishing on the rim appears at Megiddo in VB (*M I*, Pl. 29:110) Locus 398. This is the only drawn piece of pottery from VB with burnishing only on the rim.

<sup>5</sup> Samaria Periods I and II are eleventh-ninth centuries B. C.

<sup>1</sup> Wampler places bowls similar to those at Gibeah in his third group. He comments (*TN II*, p. 37) that they were dominant in the seventh and sixth centuries, though allowing for an earlier beginning. The evidence at Gibeah indicates that the thickened-rim bowls began in the eighth century B. C.

wheel-burnished bowls appear at Samaria in Period III (*SS III*, pp. 94 f.). A full description of the burnishing for each piece is unfortunately lacking. In some cases it may continue on the outside down to the foot, shoulder, or just on the rim, but this is not certain. Miss Kenyon suggests that the transition between Iron I and II burnishing techniques came in the second half of the ninth century, completed by ca. 800 B. C. (*SS III*, p. 95).

Turning to the evidence at Hazor, there is little indication of burnishing either by hand or wheel. The only bowl labeled "wheel-burnished" is found in *Hazor I*, Pl. XLV:15, from IX-X (Solomonic).

This material from Megiddo, Samaria, and Hazor supports Albright's original conclusions. It is curious that no examples of wheel burnishing appear at Samaria in Periods I and II. However, only a small amount of pottery characteristic of the ninth century has been published and therefore we cannot rely on Miss Kenyon's argument from silence.

As we move into Iron II we notice that the thickened-rim bowl is very common (*TBM I*, Pls. 60-63) and that hardly any of those at Tell Beit Mirsim have burnishing on the outside, "a practice which was characteristic of B<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> and disappeared almost entirely about 800 B. C. (not later than the eighth century)." <sup>6</sup> An example of ring burnishing on the outside and on the rim is seen in our Pl. 23:2.

To this discussion on spiral burnishing we add a few observations on the material from Lachish. Miss Tufnell states that wheel burnishing first appeared at Lachish in Tomb 224 (*L III*, p. 262). On the basis of comparative study, she places this tomb a little after Tomb 218. Tomb 218 is given the absolute date of ca. 900 B. C., and 860-820 B. C.

<sup>6</sup> Albright, *TBM I*, p. 86, and accepted by Kenyon, *SS III*, p. 96. The thickened-rim bowls seem to be predominantly a South-Palestinian type, but this impression may have to be modified when good deposits of the seventh century turn up.

Note that they do not appear until after the mid-eighth century in the north at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 25: 61-64) from III and II; Samaria (*SS III*, Fig. 11:1-7) from VII. A sherd of a thickened-rim bowl appears at Hazor (*Hazor I*, Pl. XLIX:14) in Stratum VII (ninth century) in Area A and from VI (eighth century, *Hazor I*, Pl. LI:17). They are most common in V (late eighth century) in both Areas A and B (*Hazor I*, Pls. LIII:16; LIV:1; LXVII:12, 23) and continue in IV in Area B (*Hazor I*, Pls. LXXI:5; LXXIII:29, 31).

for the duration of Tomb 224. After careful study of the pottery of these tombs, we should raise Miss Tufnell's dates, placing Tomb 218 in the tenth century B. C. and Tomb 224 late tenth—early ninth century B. C. <sup>7</sup>

Most of the thickened-rim bowls at Lachish (*L III*, Pls. 80:69, 73, 81, 83, 86; 101:626, 631-636) have burnishing on the inside only; however, two examples of burnishing on the rim (nos. 631, 632) appear in Level III, and also some in II (*L III*, p. 277). <sup>8</sup>

Shallower than the earlier forms of Iron I, the cooking pot, Pl. 23:1, has a rounded bottom, thicker-ridged profile rim and two handles. This type of ware exhibits a brownish-red surface with a dark gray core, well levigated with medium-to-minute grits. As Albright has noted, this ware is finer than that of Iron I cooking pots, but coarser in comparison to other ware of the period. <sup>9</sup>

Our pot can be compared to similar forms from Tell Beit Mirsim A<sub>1</sub> (*TBM I*, Pls. 56:1; 35:1); <sup>10</sup> Beth-shemesh IIb and c (*AS IV*, Pl. LXIII:35, 37, 38); Lachish, Level III (*L III*, Pl. 93:442, 443); <sup>11</sup> Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 48:1012, 1013, 1015); <sup>12</sup> Tell el-Far'ah (south), 22nd Dynasty (*CPP*, 32D3); Tell Qasile VII (*IEJ*, 1, p. 206); Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 39:3, 7, 11) which ranges from IV-I; <sup>13</sup> Tell el-Far'ah (near Nablus)

<sup>7</sup> Miss Tufnell notes that Tomb 218 was closed before the thickened-rim bowls became common (*L III*, p. 278).

<sup>8</sup> This evidence from Lachish confirms our conclusions. For the date of the end of Level III, see Albright, *Bulletin* 132, p. 46; Buchanan, *AJA*, 58 (1954), pp. 335-339; Starkey, *PEQ* (1937), pp. 176, 235 f.; Kenyon, *SS III*, p. 207; and Wright *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. V (1955) pp. 101-105.

<sup>9</sup> *TBM I*, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Albright first dated these to A<sub>2</sub> (*TBM I*, p. 81) but in *TBM III*, p. 150, he dates Pl. 56:1 to A<sub>1</sub> and adds *TBM III*, Pl. 19:2, 3 and Pl. 72B:1-3.

<sup>11</sup> O. Tufnell, *L III*, pp. 310-311, has placed a number of different pots under one classification with a range of 1000-350 B. C. Her system scarcely leads to clear conclusions. I have checked the loci, Tomb 7002 and House III, where no. 442 occurred. For the dating of Level III, see above, n. 8. Miss Tufnell dates Tomb 7002 to 700-600 B. C. On the basis of the evidence, we would move the date back into the eighth century B. C.

<sup>12</sup> This class of cooking pots belongs to Wampler's class 2 (*TN II*, p. 30), which he dates to the latter part of "Middle Iron."

<sup>13</sup> *Megiddo I* does not reproduce any of the deep Iron II cooking pots, best illustrated at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM I*, Pl. 56 and *TBM III*, Pl. 19) from Stratum A. Wampler (*TN II*, p. 30) says that the Megiddo evidence

from Level 2 (*RB*, 54, Fig. 4:6; *RB*, 59, Fig. 9:3) dated to the eighth century B. C. (*RB*, 62, p. 587), and the "intermediate level" (*RB*, 62, Fig. 19:4), dated to the late ninth century; Hazor, where this type of pot begins in VII (*Hazor I*, Pl. L:6, 7, p. 23) in Area A, dated late ninth century, and continues through IV in Area B (*ibid.*, Pl. LXXII:2-4, p. 65), dated to the end of eighth-beginning of seventh century; Samaria, Mrs. Crowfoot's class C (*SS III*, Fig. 30 and pp. 187-191) which began in Period IV, dated in the early eighth century (*ibid.*, p. 199), and are characteristic of the later periods.

Our form does not compare favorably with the transitional Iron I-II type from Tell Beit Mirsim, the latter part of B (*TBM I* Pl. 27:10, 36, 44, pp. 67 f.), but with forms beginning in the late ninth-early eighth century. On the basis of comparative material, our pot is well placed in the eighth century.

The general class of water decanters represented at Gibeah (*ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXIVb:2 and our Pl. 23:4) has been adequately studied and classified by Albright, who dates this type as beginning in the ninth century and lasting into the sixth century B. C.<sup>14</sup> We need only to add the evidence

suggests a difference between the north and south. This suggestion has now been confirmed, but it remains possible that the difference will vanish when we have more northern material from the seventh century. Note the absence of such pots at Samaria, Hazor and Tell el-Far'ah.

<sup>14</sup> *TBM I*, pp. 82 f.; *TBM III*, p. 148. Note Albright's revision of Wright's dates (*AS V*, pp. 140 ff.). Albright (*TBM III*, p. 148) concluded, on the basis of evidence from Beth-shemesh, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell en-Naşbeh, and Megiddo, that there was a difference between the water decanters of the north and those of the south. Furthermore, he suggested a northward extension of the southern type about the middle of the eighth century.

Albright's observations are confirmed by evidence from Hazor, where the southern type of decanter is represented only by a sherd (*Hazor I*, Pl. L:21) from Stratum VII (ninth century B. C.) but the northern type appears in Area A, Stratum V (*ibid.*, Pl. LVI:5) and Area B, Strata V-IV (*ibid.*, Pl. LXXII:7), late eighth-seventh centuries. Moreover, the southern type does not appear at Tell el-Far'ah (near Nablus), while the northern type does, in the eighth century in Level 2 (*RB*, 58, Fig. 11:23 and *RB*, 59, Fig. 9:7).

At Samaria the earliest appearance of the water decanter is from the Z deep pit equated to Period III (second half of ninth century) by Mrs. Crowfoot (*SS III*, p. 134). The top is missing (*ibid.*, Fig. 22:2). A similarly shaped jug was found at Hazor (*Hazor I*, Pl. L:23) from VII (ninth century). However, the

from Lachish<sup>15</sup> and Ramat Rahel, Stratum V, dated eighth-seventh centuries B. C. (*IEJ*, 6, Pl. 14:A; p. 142).

Our jug, Pl. 23:4, has ring-burnishing over a buff surface on the outside with a brownish-buff interior. The core is dark gray with small grits. This sherd was found in debris north of the fortress.

Turning now to cylindrical jars, often referred to as "holemouth" jars, we divide them on Pl. 23 into three groups: 1) nos. 6 and 7, which have a flattened rim, sometimes ribbed and sometimes not; 2) nos. 8, 11, 13, 14 which exhibit a shoulder meeting the side of the jar at a sharp angle; 3) nos. 9, 10, 12, which seem to be a later development or a type completely distinct from the cylindrical jars. The third group appears to be Hellenistic and will be treated in the next section.

Returning to our first two groups, we notice that they exhibit a variety of surface coloring and firing. No. 6 has a reddish-buff surface and a drab gray core with small grits; no. 7, clay with large and small grits evenly baked to pink; no. 11, evenly baked to a reddish-brown; no. 13, an even brick-red color on the surface and a core which contains very small grits; and no. 14, as no. 6, a dark gray core with small grits firing a reddish color on the surface. Most of our examples come from debris surrounding the fortress; no. 6 was found outside the revetment to the west and no. 7 on top of the revetment.

Albright has shown that the cylindrical jar is common in the ninth through sixth centuries B. C., becoming rare in the fifth century.<sup>16</sup> Wright (*AS V*, p. 143) remarks that the "hole-mouth" jar is most common of all pottery forms in phase IIc at Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pls. XLVII:1-9, 15-18 and LXV:18, 19, 21-34). It does occur before IIc in Room 310 (*AS V*, p. 143) which is filled with IIb pottery, but is not common. Parallels to

Hazor example has a sharper shoulder and has bands of paint. All of the other examples of water decanters come from Periods V-IV (eighth century). The northern type is represented in *SS III*, Figs. 10:18; 22:1, 4, while the southern type is seen in Figs. 10:17 (which has a globular body and is not burnished) and 22:3, which is just a sherd.

<sup>16</sup> *L III*, Pls. 87:274, 276; 76:20. Miss Tufnell notes (*L III*, p. 293) that the water decanter at Lachish has a distribution from the late seventh to the early sixth century B. C.

<sup>17</sup> See his discussion, *TBM I*, p. 79 and *TBM III*, p. 147.



our classes I and II were found at Ramat Raḥel in Stratum V (*IEJ*, 6, Fig. 10:4; 3 and 4 from the left are I, the first is II, the second from the left has ribbing and is not paralleled at Gibeah). The evidence from Beth-shemesh, Lachish,<sup>17</sup> Tell en-Naṣbeh,<sup>18</sup> and Ramat Raḥel supports his conclusions.

Parallels to our first two classes do not appear to be found at Hazor. However, an advanced form with a higher and more slanting shoulder than our second class appeared at Tell el-Far'ah (near Nablus) assigned to Level 1 (*RB*, 58, Fig. 12:19) dated 723-600 B. C. (*RB*, 62, p. 587).

We are in a much better position to discuss the royal stamped jar handles (Pl. 16B:2, 6, 8), thanks to the work of David Diringer. In his study of the examples of royal stamps on jar handles found at Lachish he has divided the group, on the basis of typology and epigraphy, into three classes. The four-winged scarab constitutes class I, dated to the eighth century B. C.; class II is similar to I, but the representation of the scarab seems to be more stylized. This second class is dated to the late eighth or early seventh century. Our examples of the "winged-scroll" are representatives of the third class which D. Diringer dates to the late seventh-early sixth century B. C., suggesting the time of the reform of Josiah for the beginning of this new symbol.<sup>19</sup>

The only writing on our handles is an *l* and an *m* on no. 6. No names of the four well-known cities appear. The seal impressions are on double-ribbed handles, except for no. 6 which seems to have a wide central ridge, probably a modification of two central ridges.<sup>20</sup> Five of the "flying-scroll" type were found, four during the second campaign and one during the first.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Miss Tufnell (*L III*, p. 318) suggests that the ribbing of the rims on this type of jar is an indication of a later date. The material from other Palestinian sites, however, does not favor such a conclusion. Parallels from Lachish are found on Pl. 97:545, 549-551.

<sup>18</sup> See Wampler's discussion, *TN II*, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> David Diringer, *Lachish III*, pp. 342-344; cf. *PEQ*, 1941, pp. 99-101; *BA*, XII, no. 4 (Dec., 1949) pp. 70-86. Albright, *TBM III*, p. 74 dates the first class to the time of Hezekiah (714-686 B. C.) after the fall of Samaria (722/721 B. C.); class II to the time of Manasseh (686-641 B. C.) and assigns the third class to the time of Josiah and his successors (635-587 B. C.).

<sup>20</sup> McCown, *TN I*, p. 157, n. 10, says that at Tell en-Naṣbeh a tabulation of handles shows that one out of seven has a single ridge. Cf. *TBM I*, p. 80.

<sup>21</sup> For a complete discussion of the various types of

In addition to these, a number of jar handles bearing a concentric circle design with a dot in the center were found (Pl. 16B:1, 4, 6, 8). Note that this design appears on the same handle with the royal stamp, nos. 6 and 8, which points to a similar date for both.

A type similar to nos. 6 and 8 was found at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Fig. 44, upper right hand corner, p. 53). Sellers notes that the concentric circles were scratched on the handle after the clay was hard. McCown reported that only one handle with the royal stamp and concentric circles with center dot turned up at Tell en-Naṣbeh (*TN I*, Pl. 56:1, 3; p. 159). Two examples of concentric circles and dot were found at Lachish (*L III*, p. 343), but no photograph nor drawing is published, and an undetermined number with only the circle design at Tell Beit Mirsim (*TBM I*, Fig. 15, p. 88). Bliss and Macalister (*EP*, Pl. 56) note the occurrence of a royal stamped jar handle with concentric circles and dot (no. 18) and a number of individual examples of concentric circles and dot (nos. 45, 46). Aharoni has published an example of the concentric circle with dot found at Ramat Raḥel from Stratum V (*IEJ*, 6, Pl. 27:3). All of these can be correctly placed in the seventh-sixth centuries B. C.

The other handles pictured (Pl. 16B) have the well-known *tau* (nos. 3, 5) or a rosette (nos. 7, 9). Similar rosettes are found at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Fig. 44, p. 53), Tell Zakariyā (*EP*, Pl. 56:35-43), Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 53:1-4),<sup>22</sup> and Ramat Raḥel (*IEJ*, 6, Pl. 27) from Iron II and Persian. Aharoni (*ibid.*, pp. 147 f.) divides the rosette stamps at Ramat Raḥel into three groups. His first group is represented by rosettes with eight petals (*ibid.*, Pl. 27:6) to which our no. 9 belongs; the second group is characterized by a more schematic representation with strokes for the petals, numbering between ten and twelve (*ibid.*, Pl. 27:2). These two groups he dates to the eighth-seventh centuries. He dates his third group to the Persian Period, and describes the stamp as having triangular petals. There is a noticeable difference in the cutting of the stamp between the first two groups and the third. The petals of the stamps of

stamped royal jar handles, see reference above, n. 19, and those cited by Albright, *TBM III*.

<sup>22</sup> Diringer, "An Ancient Hebrew Inscription Discovered at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish II)" *PEQ*, 1941, p. 101, mentions that 19 stamps with rosette design were found at Lachish.



the first two groups at Ramat Raḥel and those of Gibeah are raised, the petals having been cut into the die; the petals of the stamp of the third group at Ramat Raḥel are depressed, the space between the petals having been cut into the die.

We notice that the rosettes from Gibeah, Beth-zur, Lachish, and Ramat Raḥel are stamped on ribbed handles, similar to the type upon which the royal stamps were placed. The handles at Gibeah<sup>23</sup> and Ramat Raḥel were found in context with the royal stamped handles of the "flying scroll" design.

Do these "marks" on the handles of the jars have any particular significance? I. Mendelsohn ("Guilds in Ancient Palestine," *Bulletin* 80, p. 21) says that "the various forms of rosette, pentagram, wheel, cross and the letter *tau* cannot be regarded as ownership marks . . . , but these potter's marks are trade marks, each design belonging to a particular guild of potters." However, the rosette design which, on the basis of the Gibeah evidence is contemporary with the third class of royal stamps, appears to "have had royal significance in Judah at this time, as it undoubtedly had possessed in Hittite Asia Minor about 1300 B. C." and "it originally seems to have symbolized the Hittite belief that the great king was the incarnation of the sun-god."<sup>24</sup>

During the first campaign a bull's head handle was found in Stratum III (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXXII:22). Gjerstad (*SCE IV*<sub>2</sub>, p. 245, n. 15) says that this handle is not Cypriote import, but may be influenced by Cypriote protome vases (*SCE II*, Pl. CXX:2, 3) marked Bichrome II (V) ware

and dated (*SCE IV*<sub>2</sub>, p. 425) to the fifth century B. C. However, such bull heads were used as spouts as well as handles in the eighth-seventh centuries B. C. at Ramat Raḥel (*IEJ*, 6, Pl. 27A:1), as well as at Jericho and Gezer (ANNUAL IV, p. 24). Watzinger (*Jericho*, Fig. 171, p. 146) mentions parallels from Cyprus belonging to the Iron Age.

The collection of pottery of the third fortress does not contain any characteristic ninth century forms, and on the basis of the spiral-burnished ware, this period probably can not have begun before the eighth century B. C. The royal stamped jar handles indicate that the fortress was used in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. Its destruction was probably at the hands of the Chaldeans, who were responsible for the destruction of Tell Beit Mirsim A, Beth-shemesh II, and Lachish II in the early sixth century. The pottery from the third fortress cannot precede the eighth century B. C.,<sup>25</sup> with a rebuilding some time during this period.

What historical event would account for the destruction of the fortress in the eighth century B. C.? Albright suggests the "Syro-Ephraimite war, when Pekah and Rezin of Damascus besieged Jehoahaz I (Ahaz) in Jerusalem (ca. 735 B. C.)." Our fortress "would naturally play a role in the battle, since it would be the first point to be attacked by the Israelites."<sup>26</sup> After the destruction of Fortress IIIA, Gibeah was abandoned for a short time. It was rebuilt as IIIB, probably in the seventh century B. C. as indicated by the royal stamped jar handles, and was finally destroyed by the Chaldeans.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Albright, "A New Campaign of Excavation at Gibeah of Saul," *Bulletin* 52, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Albright, *Bulletin* 80, p. 21, n. 51 and references there cited; also, Bossert, "Meine Sonne," *Orientalia*, Vol. 26, pp. 97-126. Cf. Wainwright, *Anatolian Studies*, VI, pp. 137-143 and *Orientalia*, 27, p. 287.

A "Royal Hittite" sign was found impressed on a jar handle at Hazor (*IEJ*, 8, Pl. 7:D, pp. 9 f.) from Area F, dated to the Late Bronze Age. The design is an early form of the rosette, with rays between concentric circles and a "feathered" (?) crown above the design attached to the outer circle. The first certain appearance of the Hittite royal sign on jars is said to

be in Kültepe, Stratum IB, dated to the eighteenth century B. C. (on the date cf. N. Özgüç, "Kaniş karumunda IB tabakasının mülürleri," *Belleten*, Vol. 22, pp. 7-11, 13-19). These stamps became very common in the following centuries. Albright informs me that during his trip to Turkey in the fall of 1956 he was shown many unpublished examples.

<sup>25</sup> This eliminates the original view "that the first phase of the third period belongs to the reign of Asa, about the beginning of the ninth century B. C." Albright, *Bulletin* 52, p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 53.

<sup>27</sup> Albright, *Bulletin* 52, p. 10.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE BUILDING CONSTRUCTIONS OF PERIOD IV (FORTRESS IV AND VILLAGE)

After the hill lay abandoned for almost three centuries, there was a reoccupation in the fourth century B. C.; the fortress was rebuilt and houses were constructed on the eastern slope of the mound, as indicated by pottery of the fourth-second centuries B. C. from both areas.

The builders of the fourth fortress followed the older foundation of the third fortress walls, repairing and re-using the revetments, with some alteration. The small masonry wall added to the revetment on the south (Pl. 10A; see above, Chapter V) probably belongs to this period. Blocks of *meleqe* (a soft white limestone that hardens when exposed to the atmosphere; the nearest quarry is just north of Jerusalem), *nâri*, and smaller, roughly-dressed stones from the ruin of the third fortress were re-used. One of the blocks of *meleqe* which served as a corner stone in the inner wall was 100 by 70 by 40 cm. and a block of *nâri* from the debris north of the revetment, 62 by 36 by 36 cm. "The interior of the fortress followed entirely new lines, disregarding the old foundations entirely. . . . Aside from the three small chambers in the middle, however, there were no cellar or basement rooms in the whole structure; the rest of the space was filled with debris, and served as a terrace platform, on which the watch-tower proper was erected."<sup>1</sup> Thus the interior walls are only the inner facing of a mass of masonry and debris, the outer face of which is formed by the outside of the inner wall. The general inferiority of the masonry of the inner wall is shown in ANNUAL IV, Fig. 27. This wall rose to a height of at least two meters above its pavement of flat slabs, which was laid about 50 cm. above the top of pier B (third period). Some of the outer walls were found in a good state of preservation; the inner wall on the north side rose for at least 3.50 m. above its foundations.

There is only a vague agreement in the dimensions and plan of the fourth fortress with the report of Warren's excavation (see above, Chapter I).<sup>2</sup> There does not seem to be any later construction which was removed by Warren because the

height of the mound was given in the *Survey* as 30 feet and the chamber nine feet deep. Moreover, the plan of the *Survey* shows one of the two chambers of the fortress dotted in, leading one to suspect the authenticity of the arrangement. The dimensions of the two chambers agree only vaguely with the actual size. Guérin complicates the problem with his reference to a secret cavity extending 1.20 m. below the floor of the cellar of the fourth fortress. The excavator found no trace of it; in fact, he found that the area between the broken pavement of the fourth fortress and undisturbed debris of the third fortress measured 50 cm., hardly enough space to allow room for such a chamber.

Even though the masonry of the fortress displays haste in construction, the builders showed caution by testing the older walls of the fortress area. Since they found the old south wall of the first fortress sagging badly, they supported the southeastern corner with a buttress of *meleqe* blocks laid in headers (Pl. 31 and ANNUAL IV, Figs. 19, 20). A typical block from the buttress (Pl. 18) showed four dressed sides. The best-dressed side was at a slightly obtuse angle to the adjacent long side, suggesting that the mason completed his job after the stone had been laid in the original wall, as one can commonly see in Egyptian masonry. C. S. Fisher called the excavator's attention to the broad adze marks on the stone, which reminded him of the dressing on the "Ahab" masonry at Samaria (now dated in the eighth century B. C.). For this reason the buttress was originally attributed to the time of the third fortress.<sup>3</sup> After restudying the buttress wall, the excavator changed his mind and has held for many years that it is clearly Hellenistic. A similar type of masonry, laid in headers of *qa'qûlî* (chalky limestone) and *meleqe* showing "marks of a straight-edged tool, an axe, adze or chisel," appeared in the middle tower wall at the Citadel of Jerusalem, dated to the second century B. C.<sup>4</sup> C. N. Johns compares the masonry of the Citadel

<sup>1</sup> ANNUAL IV, p. 26 and Pl. XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Albright, ANNUAL IV, p. 26, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> QDAP, XIV, pp. 132, 135, and Pl. LI:1.

to that of the Hellenistic tower at Samaria, which was laid in headers and shows similar mason marks.<sup>5</sup> These marks are also found on the blocks in the walls of a cistern uncovered in the northern part of Ophel, but that masonry consists of headers with occasional stretchers,<sup>6</sup> designated Hellenistic by Johns.<sup>7</sup>

The revetment of the third period remained fairly well preserved and only needed repairs to make it usable again. The most important change in the northern revetment seems to be that it was only repaired to about a meter below the original height, and a small wall was built on the flattened top to mask and protect the outer wall.<sup>8</sup> Potsherds uncovered during the second campaign from the debris between the outer masonry of the revetment and the inner wall, along the ruined top and in front of the revetment, dated from Iron II and Iron III or Hellenistic.

On the west side the excavator found the space above the ruined revetment, about 1.50 m. below the top of the outside fortress wall, filled in part with hard-packed clay. The few sherds found indicate a date in the Hellenistic Period. There was not sufficient evidence to say that a similar arrangement encircled the fortress on all four sides. This hard-packed clay, covering the top of the revetment, served as foundation for the small wall which the builders of the fourth fortress constructed upon the revetment.

A second fragment of a column drum made of *nâri* stone with square clamp-holes in either end (Pl. 35, below) can be dated from the context in which it was found to the period of the fourth fortress. This drum is much smaller in diameter and length than the one uncovered in the first campaign.<sup>9</sup> A water spout also belongs to the fourth fortress.

The most important village occupation of the mound dates to the time of the fourth fortress (Pl. 29). "Owing to the terrific winds which sweep over the hill both in the dry and in the rainy seasons, there has been an extraordinary amount of denudation, so that the house remains are hardly preserved at all except on the edge of the

hill."<sup>10</sup> Another task of the excavator was to clear an area on the eastern edge of the upper terrace of the mound (Pls. 11, 27, and 29) since a greater depth of debris might be expected here. The work was carried on within a roughly rectangular area of 600 m.<sup>2</sup>; the depth of debris varied from almost nothing at the western edge of the area to about three meters deep at the eastern edge (Pl. 11A).

The builders of the houses followed the contour of the hill, this being the reason for the irregular arrangement of the walls. The walls vary in thickness but are generally made of roughly-dressed stone, laid in courses, with occasional headers giving additional strength to the construction.

The general impression of the masonry of the Gibeah houses agrees with that of the Hellenistic house at Shechem.<sup>11</sup> In the Shechem house, however, large, ashlar blocks of *meleqe* were used in a kind of "quoins" construction in the doorway (the blocks ran the full width of the doorway as headers alternately laid vertically and horizontally, while true quoin construction consists of alternating headers and stretchers) as well as headers elsewhere in the walls. Little *meleqe* appears at Gibeah and the doorway of Room 9 (Pl. 12A) shows a less impressive construction of roughly dressed stones with a wide range in size.<sup>12</sup>

Numerous silos and cisterns appear intermittently amid the remains of the houses. Some of these date to the latest occupation, some to the fourth-second centuries, and others show evidence of having been used during both periods. This is the first time we have clear evidence that the inhabitants built cisterns on the summit of the hill, but one would presume that since there is no natural water supply on the mound, earlier dwellers likewise had cisterns. There are many ancient cisterns around the base of the hill, especially on the north.

The best preserved house comprises Rooms 1, 2, 8, 9 in the southeast corner. The plan is not completely clear and these four rooms may belong to

<sup>10</sup> *Bulletin* 52, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Bulletin*, 148, Fig. 5 (p. 27); the writer assisted in the excavation of this house.

<sup>12</sup> The west doorway of Locus 12 at Qumran is better for comparison with the doorway of the Hellenistic house at Shechem. Both show a similarity in design.

On the basis of architectural and numismatic evidence (see G. E. Wright's note on coins found in the building, *Bulletin*, 151, p. 27, n. 46) it seems that Lapps' dates (*Bulletin* 151, p. 27) for the Hellenistic house at Shechem are too high.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134 and Pl. LI:2; cf. *SS I*, Pl. XXXVI and pp. 30, 120.

<sup>6</sup> *PEFQS*, 1929, Pl. IV and Fig. 1 (p. 161).

<sup>7</sup> *QDAP*, XIV, p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> *ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXIVa:C; the dotted line suggests the original height of the revetment.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.



two separate dwellings, because no evidence exists indicating how the occupants got from Room 8 into Room 9 (Pl. 29). A narrow doorway (Pl. 12A) leading into Room 2 from Room 9 had its threshold beneath the stone-slab pavement of Room 2; the vertical distance between this pavement and the threshold measured 110 cm. The pavement is marked by three stones of a partition wall above the debris of the Early Roman Period (Pl. 12A). Beneath the pavement, at about threshold level, masses of broken Hellenistic pottery were found in ash-filled earth. This same layer of ash occurred in Rooms 9 and 8; above this ash layer early Roman pottery appeared. In this area we have a clear separation of the two latest periods of occupation of the hill.

A grain pit in Room 2 belongs to the Hellenistic Period (Pl. 29). The pit in Room 8 at the north end (Silo 6) had a cover of stone slabs found in place, but it contained only two mole skulls, no pottery.

Two plaster steps led down into Room 8 from a doorway on the south, which was later blocked by an early Roman wall. In the southeast corner of Room 1 appeared a rectangular section of cement floor, standing a meter higher than the floor level of Room 8 and the mouth of Silo 7 in the north of Room 1 (Pl. 29). We can only guess its purpose. In the debris of Room 1 the excavator found a very crude mortar and pestle (unpublished).

The work in the house complex started in the southern half and then moved northward, filling in the former with the debris from the latter. The excavator notes that scores of baskets of pottery came from the house complex, belonging to Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, and early Roman. The planning of the houses is complicated by their reuse in

some cases in the Early Roman Period, while many walls have been robbed or destroyed.

The outside wall of Rooms 24, 13, 14 (1.20 m. thick) may have been part of a large house, but we cannot determine its plan. The cross wall separating Room 13 from Rooms 14 and 15 is higher than the outside wall and rests upon its ruined top. The 1.20 m. wall may originally have been built as a defense wall, but this is not certain.

Room 13 may have been a single room of fair size, but the exact outline of its walls is not clear. Near the northwest corner of this room a plastered installation appeared (Pl. 29), consisting of two relatively massive side stones, backed by a large thin slab, 70 cm. deep and 85 cm. wide. The whole is plastered inside while a thin stone slab measuring 5-10 cm. in thickness covers the back. To the north of this installation, in the floor in the northwest corner, an unbroken plaster floor ran over the slab which covered the mouth of an older grain pit, Silo 12 (Pl. 13A). The one basket of pottery from Silo 12 yielded two complete lamps and pieces of ten more, all of which can be dated to Iron II or a little later. Also, one of the high feet of an Iron II-Persian lamp apparently had been used as a lid.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the pottery dates from the fourth-second centuries B. C. A third century date is illustrated by three bronze coins of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (285-247 B. C.) found in the debris of the house complex (Pl. 12B and C). On the obverse the coins show a bearded head of Zeus with a hole in the center, while on the reverse is an eagle with folded wings, dotted border and in front of the eagle the club of the mint of Tyre. All bear the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> CBZ, Pl. XV:19-38.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE POTTERY OF PERIOD IV (FORTRESS IV AND VILLAGE)

The pottery of the fourth period, the time of the occupation of the houses on the mound's eastern slope, is not homogeneous, and there are no examples of imported ware. The inclusion of a large variety of forms was prompted by the fact that Hellenistic pottery has been considered a step-child in most discussions of Palestinian pottery. The publication of the Bethel Material (dated by many coins) by James L. Kelso and this material from Gibeah should enable future treatments of local Hellenistic pottery to show much more precision.

The long-awaited volume containing the pottery from Crowfoot's work at Samaria has recently appeared. However, the important period at Samaria in which we are most interested (IX and early Hellenistic) yielded only building remains and smaller sherds; it is not represented by drawings and photographs of more complete pottery. The publication of the Hellenistic Period at Shechem should add materially to our knowledge of the pottery chronology of the fifth to the first century B. C.

We now return to the rims classified as our third group of "hole-mouth" jars (see Chapter V). Characterized by a buff or reddish-buff surface and very fine grits, some are fired through and others have a gray core. In comparison to pottery from the third fortress, these rims are better made and represent Hellenistic types.

The history of this type of jar, represented by the above-mentioned rims, is obscure. No parallels are known, but these rims are made of typical Hellenistic paste. A form from Bethel similar to ours appears to be heavier than our rims; it is dated to the first phase of the Hellenistic Period there.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. 15 and 16 on Pl. 23 are rims of "hole-mouth" amphora. No. 15 has a creamy-buff to

reddish-brown surface, dark gray core with very fine grits, while no. 16 is carelessly levigated with a similar core and buff surface. Our rims were found outside the fortress, in the debris to the north and south, respectively.

The earliest example of this type makes its appearance at Beth-shemesh in Cistern 25 (*AS IV*, Pl. LXV:5) which is dated between the eighth and early sixth centuries B. C. (*AS V*, p. 136). At Tell en-Nasbeh this type is assigned to the Persian Period (*TN I*; numerous examples in Figs. 26-29).<sup>2</sup> Three examples found at Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 94:466) come from the Residency and Level III,<sup>3</sup> and at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Fig. 38, p. 47) from the Hellenistic Age.<sup>4</sup> We have a clear parallel from Cistern 361 at Tell en-Nasbeh, dated by Albright to the fourth century B. C.<sup>5</sup> This type of amphora is found in a Hellenistic level of the East Gate at Shechem no earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century B. C.<sup>6</sup> From the evidence it seems that this type of amphora, first made in the Persian Period, persists to the end of the fourth century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> Wampler, *TN II*, p. 4, dates them to 750-450 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> For the date of Level III at Lachish, see above, Chapter V; for that of the Residency, see below, n. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Sellers has grouped all of the pottery from the Persian and Hellenistic Periods under the heading "Hellenistic," *CBZ*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> This cistern is published in *Bulletin* 82. The jar in question appears in Fig. 11 (p. 38), marked XI, and in *TN I*, Fig. 28 (p. 143). The excavators dated the contents of this cistern to the fifth century B. C., extending into the fourth century B. C. (*Bulletin* 82, p. 39 and *TN I*, p. 137). Albright dates its actual use in the fourth century B. C. (*Bulletin* 82, p. 39, editor's footnote).

<sup>5</sup> The writer is grateful to the Drew-McCormick expedition to Shechem for photographs of Hellenistic pottery from the East Gate Area. See preliminary report, G. E. Wright, *Bulletin* 148, pp. 11-28, and L. E. Toombs, *BA XX*, No. 4 (Dec., 1957). For the date of the strata at the East Gate, see P. and N. Lapp, "A Comparative Study of a Hellenistic Pottery Group from Beth-zur," *Bulletin*, 151, pp. 26 f. Since we do not have access to the records giving the loci of the pottery from Shechem, we refrain from making any definite statement assigning particular sherds to the levels determined by the excavator.

<sup>1</sup> The writer is grateful to J. L. Kelso for permission to study the material from Bethel at Pittsburgh. He has been very helpful and has offered a number of pertinent suggestions. The Hellenistic material at Bethel is divided into two phases: Pre-Maccabean and Maccabean.

The four-handled jar drawn on Pl. 23:17 was found in Silo 15 with a cooking pot (Pl. 23:5) which will be discussed below. The ware of our vessel has small grits and is fired buff. The four handles, interestingly, have an oval section and are combed lengthwise, a feature we have not previously encountered but which is Hellenistic. A similar rim but not an exact parallel appeared at Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 65:1487). Wampler describes his rim as having fairly hard ware, light red-brown coloring with very fine white grits, dated to the major phase at Tell en-Naşbeh, ca. 700-500 B. C. (*TN II*, p. 175).<sup>7</sup>

Cooking pot rims, parallel to Pl. 23:3 and thought to be Iron II, caused a good deal of discussion at Shechem in the summer of 1957 when they turned up in closed Hellenistic loci. Our example, found in debris north of the fortress, is well levigated, with a dark reddish-brown color throughout. The examples from Shechem exhibit similar ware and were found in the East Gate Area as well as in the house in Field II.<sup>8</sup> This type, also appearing at Bethel, is definitely Hellenistic.

Hellenistic examples of this cooking pot tend to have a flaring mouth and a folded rim with a second ridge, in contrast to the single-ridged Iron II profile (see above and Pl. 23:1). This distinction has probably not been recognized hitherto as significant.<sup>9</sup> It is clear, however, on the basis of the Shechem material that this type of rim is a feature of the Hellenistic Period.

The inhabitants of Gibeah at this time were not limited to one type of cooking pot. We have examples of two other varieties, a large bulging type with profiled rim (Pl. 23:5) and another with flaring rim (Pl. 25:6, 7). The mouth of no. 5 is wider than that of the pot published by P. and N. Lapp from Shechem,<sup>10</sup> but seems to be within the general class of two-handled cooking pots with the body bulging below the middle, as is true of our third group. The handles are ribbed in Hellenistic style and the ware has fine white grits. This cook-

ing pot was found in Silo 15 with the jar, Pl. 23:17.

The third type of cooking pot is represented by Pl. 25:6, 7. The brownish ware of no. 6 is well levigated, with oval handles in section and combed lengthwise. Evenly fired, well-levigated, brick-red ware characterizes no. 7. These pieces were found in Silo 17 and Room 5, respectively.

Our cooking pots are prior to those with flared neck and outside ridge on the rim from Tarsus<sup>11</sup> and are therefore earlier than the straight-necked, ridged-rim cooking pot from the cistern at Beth-zur. Furthermore, our pots do not have a strap handle, which seems to be a late Hellenistic development.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the Hellenistic cooking pots from Tarsus<sup>13</sup> are analogous to ours from Gibeah. The ware is similar, displaying no ridge at the rim as in the later types. The handle of B differs from ours, starting flush with the rim, extending out to a point in a vertical line with the widest part of the body. It then turns at a sharp angle to join the shoulder of the pot. The rim of C shows a tendency to be ridged and is, therefore, the closest of the three rims to the example from the Beth-zur cisterns.<sup>14</sup>

The cooking pots marked "Hellenistic" by the earlier excavators at Samaria all seem to be later than those at Gibeah (*HES*, Fig. 176:2a, 2d, 2e, 2g). Notice the flat handles on 2d, slightly ribbed, with the ridges at the rim. The ribbing also appears on the other cooking pots. The ware is similar to that of the pot from Cistern 7<sup>14a</sup> but seems to be later than Cistern 7 material, showing closer affinity to the Beth-zur cistern pottery.

Miss Kenyon points out that the rims of cooking pots from Period VIII (seventh century B. C.)<sup>15</sup> are forerunners of the later Hellenistic pots of which our no. 6 is an example. She assigns a parallel in form and ware<sup>16</sup> to our no. 7 from Samaria to the Hellenistic Period. Note that this sherd appears with the later type of ridged-rim cooking pots.

<sup>7</sup> It is conceivable that such jars begin toward the end of the seventh century B. C. and continue through the Persian Period. As yet the Persian Period is not well represented with published material.

<sup>8</sup> See n. 6 for references.

<sup>9</sup> The Megiddo excavators classed all Iron II and Persian-Hellenistic forms together, attributing them to Strata IV-I.

<sup>10</sup> *Bulletin* 151, Fig. 4:1 (p. 23), dated 250-175 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 27).

<sup>11</sup> *Tarsus I*, Pl. 191:363, 364, dated by Hetty Goldman to the middle of the second century B. C. (pp. 31, 179, 240).

<sup>12</sup> Strap-handles were also found at Shechem.

<sup>13</sup> *Tarsus I*, Pl. 187:222, B, C, dated near 200 B. C.

<sup>14</sup> *Bulletin* 151, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>14a</sup> A date in the fourth century B. C. with possible extension into the third, seems probable for Cistern 7. See *HES*, p. 396.

<sup>15</sup> *SS III*, p. 228, Fig. 12:11, 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 41:2.

It appears that the cooking pots from Gibeah are prior to the Beth-zur cistern and, on the basis of the evidence at Tarsus, date before the end of the third century B. C. Moreover, when compared to Samaria, our rims are well placed early in the Hellenistic Period. Thus a date in the third century seems probable.

The short-necked, round-rimmed amphoras (Pls. 24:1-9, 28; 25:2; ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXXII: 8-13) found in the Hellenistic level in the house complex on the eastern slope of the mound have, for the most part, a dark gray, well-levigated core and a buff exterior. The handles of no. 4 are oval in section, combed lengthwise, a Hellenistic feature. No. 7 varies slightly, with yellowish-buff outside and brownish-buff inside, while no. 2 on Pl. 25 has a more creamy buff facing.

Analogous forms appear in dated contexts in other excavated sites. Jars similar to ours were found in Cave 534 at Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 96: 525-7), with an altar on which an Aramaic inscription appears. André Dupoint-Sommer dates this inscription to the fifth-fourth centuries B. C. (*L III*, p. 226). Albright (*Bulletin* 132, p. 46) dates it fourth century B. C. (possibly from the late fifth). At Tell en-Naşbeh, among the contents of Cistern 361,<sup>17</sup> dated by Albright to the fourth century B. C., other examples of the form were found. This type of rim was discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie at Anthedon (*Anthedon*, Pl. XXXV:46P3, p. 6) in a third century context, and it appears at Bethel in the first Hellenistic phase.

Similar examples were found at Tell en-Naşbeh<sup>18</sup> and at Samaria, "from the early deposits and from Cistern 3 at the Basilica" (Fisher, *HES*, Fig. 160:1, p. 285), which can be dated to the fourth and early third centuries B. C.<sup>19</sup> and to the

<sup>17</sup> *TN I*, Fig. 28B: 8, 10, 11, 13, 14 (p. 143); also *Bulletin* 82, Fig. 11 (p. 38); Albright's date in editor's note, *ibid.*, p. 39. Wampler originally dated this cistern to fifth-fourth centuries B. C. The elongated jar in Cistern 361, X24, appears in fourth century deposits on Cyprus; Marion, Tomb 60 (*SCE II*, Pl. 67); Vouni, Tomb 4 (*SCE III*, Pl. 103); and others.

<sup>18</sup> *TN II*, Pl. 14:234; no. 283 on pl. 13 has its shoulders less rounded than those of nos. 4 and 5 at Gibeah, and seems to be reminiscent of Iron I types (see above, Chapter III). Wampler has combined the Iron I type of longer neck and more slender body with the Hellenistic type of short neck, larger body, and full round shoulders. See his remarks in *TN II*, p. 74.

<sup>19</sup> This material is dated by the excavators to the Israelite Period. They compare our jar to the Israelite

Hellenistic Period (Kenyon, *SS III*, Fig. 42: 8-10). Miss Kenyon (*ibid.*, p. 232) notes that these jar rims have affinities to VIII material, but are later. Our jars seem to have their beginning in the Persian Period, extending into the third century.

At Gibeah the collection of rims on Pl. 24:10-27 (also ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXXII: 1-7) can be divided into four groups: 1) those with a wide-folded rim, (nos. 10, 11, 16, 22, 23), 2) flaring narrow-folded rim (nos. 12, 20, 24, 26), 3) straight narrow-folded rim (nos. 13-15, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27), and 4) large mouth with folded rim (no. 17 and Pl. 25:11). They usually exhibit the characteristic Hellenistic dark gray clay, firing buff, and with minute grits.

Our first group of rims belongs to large jars, probably used for water. No. 22 does not follow the general pattern but has a reddish-buff surface and virtually no grits, while the ware of no. 23 is brick-red with good levigation. All but no. 11 were marked as coming from the house complex, and no. 11 was found in debris south of the fortress.

In Wright's discussion of this type of jar found at Beth-shemesh,<sup>20</sup> he establishes a second century B. C. date on the basis of comparative material at Samaria (from Cistern 8, Strip I),<sup>21</sup> at Jerusalem (from the Tyropoeon Valley),<sup>22</sup> and at Bethel (where jars of this type were found in large numbers). Kelso gives the date of the Bethel jars as Hellenistic-Early Roman,<sup>23</sup> and points to parallels from Tulûl Abû el-'Alâ'iyq (ANNUAL XXIX-XXX, Pl. 24:X61, X84); from the Bishop Gobat School, Jerusalem, Level E (*PEFQS*, 1935, Pl. VI:3, 4);<sup>24</sup> Hellenistic level at Samaria (*HES*,

I:1-3 type (*HES*, p. 276) which is entirely wrong. Moreover, nos. 20 and 21 are bottles characteristic of the Persian-Hellenistic Period. The only Iron II piece is no. 7, a ridged cooking-pot rim. This collection of pottery seems to be late; most of the material appears to be late fourth or early third century B. C.

<sup>20</sup> *AS IV*, Pls. XLIX:7, 8; LXIX:5; *AS V*, pp. 146 f.

<sup>21</sup> *HES*, p. 299:1a; Pl. 68a. Fisher remarks (*HES*, p. 321, under no. IV:1a) that "the other objects found in this cistern were exclusively Hellenistic, first or second century B. C."

<sup>22</sup> *QDAP*, I, p. 109:8, 9, 11. Wright notes (*AS V*, 146, n. 3) that "these were found beneath a second pavement or street level in the Tyropoeon Valley. This pavement was thought to be Herodian, and the sherds would then be pre-Herodian."

<sup>23</sup> ANNUAL XXIX-XXX, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> R. Hamilton (*PEFQS*, 1935, p. 142) remarks that E is the earlier level, mainly Hellenistic.



Fig. 175:1488); Qumran (*RB* 60, Pl. VI:1, Fig. 2:5); first century B. C. at Bethany (*Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus II*, Fig. 10:1-6); and in an early Roman context at the north wall of Jerusalem (*QDAP*, X, Figs. 14:2; 20:3).

To this comparative material we add the analogous forms found at Samaria, in the "early deposits and in Cistern 3 of the Basilica" (*HES*, Fig. 160:3),<sup>25</sup> which can be dated to the fourth-early third centuries B. C., from Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 17:298), dated by Wampler (*TN II*, p. 10) to Late Iron and Hellenistic,<sup>26</sup> and from the Roman Period at Samaria (*SS III*, Figs. 69:11; 71:2). We can safely say that this wide-folded-rim jar is a Hellenistic type not found in the Persian Era, but characteristic of the Hellenistic Period and extending into early Roman.

Forms like those of our second and third groups are not as abundant as for the first. At Tulûl Abû el-'Alâiyiq (*ANNUAL XXIX-XXX*, Pl. 24: X82) was uncovered a form similar to no. 12, associated with a rim of our first group (see also nos. A243 and A245 on Pl. 24).

C. N. Johns found, in the Citadel at Jerusalem (*QDAP*, XIV, Fig. 14:1, p. 145), a type similar to our third group, along with first century B. C. rims similar to those from the first campaign at Gibeah (*ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXXII:1-7), associated with rims of our first group. It is possible that the rim from Beth-zur dated Hellenistic (*CBZ*, Fig. 36, p. 45, second row center) belongs here. Analogous forms at Bethel appear in both phases of the Hellenistic Period. A rim parallel to our second group appeared in Roman context at Samaria with a rim of our first group (*SS III*, Fig. 71:3). Moreover, the ware of groups two and three is the same as that of the jars in our first

group, and it seems that all of these rims are homogeneous in date.<sup>27</sup>

The large-mouth amphoras of our fourth group are without parallels elsewhere. On the basis of ware which is the same as that of our first three groups we date them also to the Hellenistic Period.

The buff ridged rim (Pl. 25:3) which has a moderately gritty, dark gray core came from Room 5 (Pl. 29), as did rims on Pl. 24, nos. 10, 14, 16, 19, 24 (see above). A similar form found at Shechem can be dated to the Hellenistic Period. A related form with three ridges comes from a trench at the west wall of the palace at Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 96:536, p. 140), assigned to Levels IV-I.<sup>28</sup>

A Hellenistic, two-handled, barrel-shaped vase with a ring base from Athens (*Hesperia*, Vol. 3, Fig. 100:E56, p. 415) has a rim profile similar to Pl. 25:4 but slightly larger. This vase is part of an assemblage of pottery from Cistern E at Athens and is dated by H. Thompson (*Hesperia*, Vol. 3, p. 394) to the late second or early first century B. C.<sup>29</sup> A rim with a smaller groove around the neck, having a drab surface and gray core, was found at Samaria in "the earlier deposits and Cistern 3 of the Basilica" (*HES*, Fig. 160:6 [p. 285]). This rim seems to be a closer parallel to Pl. 25:13 in size and ware, and probably should be called the rim of an amphora (see below). A form resembling no. 4 was located in Hellenistic deposits at Shechem and at Bethel in an uncertain context. The ware of no. 4 is well-baked and has a pinkish-buff surface.

An amphora rim similar to Pl. 25:12, 13 from Cistern 361 at Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN I*, Fig. 28:X6 [p. 143] and *Bulletin* 82, Fig. 11 [p. 38]) is dated

<sup>27</sup> A rim that at first glance seems to belong to the group of jars represented by our first group appeared at Samaria (*SS III*, Fig. 11:33) from Period VII (seventh century B. C.). Notice that the mouth is more flaring and that the rim does not seem to have been made by a fold of clay as in our example. Moreover, it is only a sherd and could be intrusive. The numerous parallels that we have accumulated, indicate that a seventh century B. C. date for our rims is out of the question. Cf. Vincent, quoted in *ANNUAL IV*, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> This is one of the rims classified by O. Tufnell with what seem to be Iron II and Hellenistic sherds. See end of n. 26 above. Moreover, this rim was the only one of its type found and is in an unstratified context, Locus J/12, along the western wall of the palace.

<sup>29</sup> It is clear, as Miss Kenyon (*SS III*, p. 219) has pointed out, that there is a "considerable divergence" between the locally made pottery of the Eastern Medi-

<sup>25</sup> For the discussion of the date, see above n. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Albright (*TBM I*, p. 51) remarks that a similar type of rim from Stratum C at Tell Beit Mirsim, Pl. 21:43, is "of almost the same form as the collared-jug rim which returns in the EI III and continues into the Hellenistic Period. The principal difference seems to be in the form of the vase as a whole and the amount and size of the grits in the paste." On the basis of the comparative material we change Albright's original suggestion of a Persian and Hellenistic date to Hellenistic and Roman. The example from Tell en-Naşbeh is the only piece that has a date in the LI on the basis of Albright's statement. Similar examples from Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 96), classified in one group (p. 314), show a mixture of Iron II and Hellenistic forms.



by Albright to the fourth century B. C.<sup>30</sup> No. 12 has a buff surface and dark gray core, while well-fired, reddish-buff ware describes no. 13. The full duration of these types is uncertain, but the rims are well dated to the third and second centuries B. C. (no. 4) and to the fourth (nos. 12, 13).

Water jars were among the common type of pottery at Gibeah, the rims on these jars (Pl. 25: 15, 18, 20, 22) having a rounded profile. They form a homogeneous group of like ware, well levigated, with minute grits firing buff. The Hellenistic houses on the eastern slope of the mound contained all of them.

If we compare the ware of our jars with that of the thinner, finer, partially ribbed water jars from the cistern at Beth-zur (*Bulletin* 151, Fig. 1:4-8), ours appear to be earlier. Forms similar to our jars are found in the Hellenistic Period at Samaria (*SS III*, Fig. 42:5 and *HES*, Fig. 177:7a) and from Cistern 7, Strip I (*HES*, Fig. 167: 4a, 4b), dated fourth-third centuries B. C.; at Tell en-Naşbeh in Cistern 304 (*TN I*, Fig. 26:X27 and *Bulletin* 82, Fig. 7:X27 [p. 33]), dated by Albright 600-450 B. C. (*Bulletin* 82, p. 36, editor's note) and in Cistern 361 (*TN I*, Fig. 28:X29 [p. 143] and *Bulletin* 82, Fig. 11:X29 [p. 38]), dated to the fourth century B. C. by Albright;<sup>31</sup> in Hellenistic context at Shechem; and in the Hellenistic phases I and II at Bethel.

This type of water jar seems to have begun in the fourth century B. C., extending through the Hellenistic Age, with the later forms tending to have finer ware and longer, more graceful necks.

The rims characterized by flaring and no rounding (Pl. 25:9, 10, 14, 19), on the basis of the Bethel material, belong to amphora. The analogous forms at Bethel come from both phases of the Hellenistic Period; at Tell en-Naşbeh from Cistern 361 (*TN I*, Fig. 28:X45, [p. 143]; *Bulletin* 82, Fig. 12:X45 [p. 39]), dated to the fourth century B. C. (by Albright in an editor's note). The same ware used in this group was also used in the round-rim water jars described above.

A one-handled water jug with a flaring rim appears at Anthedon (*Anthedon*, Pl. XXXIV: 34E<sup>11</sup>) from the second century B. C. Owing to the fact that we have only the rims preserved, it is difficult to say whether they belong to an amphora

or water jar. In any case, this type of flaring rim is well placed in the Hellenistic Period.

A light brownish-buff, well-levigated jar with a vertical neck and a collar below the neck describes no. 17 drawn on Pl. 25 (Silo 4). Kelso has shown that this style of rim appears at Tulûl Abû el-'Alâiyq (*ANNUAL XXIX-XXX*, p. 29; Pls. 24: X116; 25A242, A132) from deposits on Tell I where it was the most common of the large jars, running through the entire Roman Period. The earliest examples which Kelso mentions are from the Hellenistic-Herodian Period at Bethel and the Bishop Gobat School, Jerusalem (*PEFQS*, 1935, Pl. VI:II), while the latest are Byzantine in date.<sup>32</sup> Most of these jars have ribbing on the body, the later ones being completely ribbed. Our example shows no sign of ribbing. Of course, we do not have the whole jar, but the practice of ribbing, which makes its appearance in the second century B. C., is applied to the lower portion of the form and in the Roman-Byzantine Age ribbing is continuous all over the body. This jar with vertical neck and collar below the neck appears in the Roman Period and should therefore be assigned to Period V.

Other pottery types drawn on Pl. 25, associated with the Hellenistic Period in the house complex, are the amphora, no. 8, and the rim of a large jar, no. 21. No. 8 has the typical buff surface, but the core is brick-red instead of gray, which characterizes much of our Hellenistic ware, including no. 21. The buff-colored vase (Pl. 25:1), likewise of typical Hellenistic ware, was found by the revetment at the northwest corner.

We turn now to the pottery drawn on Pl. 26. A very common type of the Hellenistic Period was the lentoid or pilgrim flask, nos. 1-3. The brick-red clay of no. 1 is well levigated and fired through, the surface becoming reddish-buff. The ware of no. 3 is typically Hellenistic, while red-brownish clay with small grits half-fired describes no. 2. The handles are not twisted, in contrast to early Roman practice (Kelso, *ANNUAL XXIX-XXX*, p. 29).

Kelso remarks that the Hellenistic flasks have handles attached to the neck at a point closer to the rim than in early Roman examples and that the rim is generally rolled in both Hellenistic and

terranean and that from Attica during the Hellenistic Period.

<sup>30</sup> See above, n. 17.

<sup>31</sup> See above, n. 17.

<sup>32</sup> To Kelso's Byzantine examples we add the jar from Tell Qasile (*IEJ*, 1, Fig. 14:g) and a Byzantine jar from Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 21:352).

Early Roman Periods. Forms analogous to ours from the Hellenistic Period appear at Tell Sandannah (*EP*, Pl. 58:11),<sup>33</sup> at Samaria in the corner of Silo 2 (*HES*, Fig. 183:30a, p. 303), at Gezer (*Gezer III*, Pl. CLXXIX:20), at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Pl. XII:2), and at Shechem.

In the Herodian or Early Roman Period the neck tends to be taller with the handles attached closer to the body of the flasks, as in the examples from Bishop Gobat School, Jerusalem (*PEFQS*, 1935, Pl. VI:16), located in C associated with Terra Sigillata ware, the Citadel (*QDAP*, XIV, Fig. 14:4a[p. 145]), dated to the first century B. C., and the North Wall (*QDAP*, X, Fig. 14:9) from lower levels of Shaft B. The example from the North Wall of Jerusalem is the only one that has twisted handles; it was associated with early Roman pottery. We correct Kelso's date of the flask from the Tyropoeon Valley (*QDAP*, I, p. 109:4) which appeared in Shaft II below the street level attributed (erroneously) to Herod (*ibid.*, p. 110). Both in date and form it agrees with the flask of Gibeah.

Our flasks are more advanced in form than those of the Persian Period, which tend to have short necks and smooth, oval handles attached to the neck mid-way between the rim and the joining of the neck to the body of the jug. The rounded rim is a feature of the flask beginning in the Persian Period and continuing through the Roman. This earlier flask appears in the Persian Period at Tell Jemmeh from Building A (*Gerar*, Pl. LX:87j),<sup>34</sup> at Lachish, Level I (*L III*, Pl.

103:679), and at Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pl. XLVIII:16) from Tomb 14.<sup>35</sup> On the basis of typological sequence, our flasks fit well into the Hellenistic Period.

The bottle shown in Pl. 26:4 is certainly Hellenistic, having a buff surface and buff core with fine grits, baked through. Wright (*AS V*, p. 145, n. 46) dates the bottles from Beth-zur attributed to the Middle Bronze, which are unique in that context (*CBZ*, Pl. V:17, 18; p. 33), to the Persian Period. No. 18 is similar in form to ours, though ours has a collar at the point where the neck joins the shoulder. Bottles without the collar on the neck seem to begin in Palestine during the sixth century and extend into the Persian Period. Wright (*op. cit.*) has dated the appearance of elongated bottles with rounded rims in Palestine to the sixth-fourth centuries B. C.; in Rhodes and Mesopotamia they began in the seventh century B. C.

Ruth Amiran (*Hazor I*, pp. 58f.) suggests dividing the bottles into two groups. The first group has painted bands and finer ware, in contrast to the second group, which is not painted and has coarser ware. She limits the range of the bottles to the seventh and sixth-fourth centuries, respectively. We agree that a division of the bottles can be made on the basis of decoration, but we do not limit the first group to the seventh century B. C. A bottle with horizontal bands of paint was found at Nineveh and dated to the seventh century B. C. (*AAA*, 20, Pl. LXXIV:19; p. 175). A similar bottle was found at Samaria (*HES*, Fig. 163, III<sub>4</sub>) dated by Fisher 700-300 B. C. Note that the Nineveh bottle is not painted at the bottom but has a small flat base. In addition to these examples we note that decorated bottles were found in tombs at 'Ammân (*QDAP*, XI, nos. 21, 22, 55, 56, pp. 71-4), dated by Henschel-Simon (*ibid.*, pp. 76 f., 80) to the end of Iron II, ca. 600 B. C. (On the basis of other evidence [see below Appendix II] we lower her date for the end of the tombs to the sixth century B. C.).

The decoration on these bottles is not as elaborate as that of the Samaritan example. Therefore, it seems that the decorated bottles begin in Assyria in the seventh century B. C. and continue in Palestine into the sixth century B. C.

The second class of unpainted bottles makes its

<sup>33</sup> Kelso (*op. cit.*, n. 24) notes that the body is much thicker than usual. A similar shape with a large body is found at Tanis (*Tanis II*, Pl. XXXIV:29), but the handles are smaller and are attached to the neck just above the shoulder.

<sup>34</sup> Building A at Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pl. XI) is marked 198-196 feet. Petrie, on his chart (*ibid.*, Pl. V) dates 198-197 feet to ca. 700 B. C. We must revise this dating of the building, on the basis of pottery evidence, to the fifth century B. C. with possible extension into the fourth century. Such typical fifth to fourth century forms as the heavy-ribbed, ring-based bowl (Pl. XLVIII: 8k), vertical loop-handled amphora (Pl. LIV:43 r, s, t), and the flat-base lamp (Pl. LXI:91n) all appear in these levels.

O. Tufnell (*L III*, p. 135) compares the Residency of Level I at Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 119) to Building A at Tell Jemmeh. On the basis of sherds of Attic ware dating from the mid-fifth to mid-fourth century B. C., we agree with Miss Tufnell's comparison and date the Residency to 450-350 B. C.

<sup>35</sup> Tomb 14 is dated by Wright to the Persian Period, late sixth century B. C. (*AS V*, p. 145).



appearance in Assyria during the Neo-Assyrian Period (A. Haller, *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, No. 65 [Berlin, 1954], Tafel 3:ap, ap<sub>1</sub> and Tafel 4:i) exhibiting plain necks and collar necks. Palestinian examples are numerous. They appear at Megiddo in Strata I and II <sup>36</sup> (*M I*, Pl. 9:4-7); at Tell el-Far'ah (near Nablus; *RB*, 58, Fig. 12:10, 13) dated to ca. 600 B.C. (*RB*, 62, p. 587); and globular examples at Lachish from Tomb 106 dated to the Persian Period (*L III*, Pl. 90:383-4; p. 180). The latest date for this type of bottle may be in the second century B.C., illustrated by an unpublished jug from an el-Ezariye Tomb (Henschel-Simon, *QDAP*, XI, p. 76, who does not provide us with any evidence for the date of this tomb).

Our second group seems to have appeared first in the sixth century B.C., and possibly to have lasted through the Persian Period with local modifications. Such changes are represented by the more globular forms at Lachish or by our form, having a collar and tending to be more graceful.

Bowls with flat bases (Pl. 26:5-7) were common during the Hellenistic Period at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Pl. XIII), but the interior painting of no. 6 (see no. 7) is without parallel elsewhere. The painting was done on a reddish-brown surface. A bowl, analogous to the one shown in Pl. 26:12, from Anthedon (*Anthedon*, Pl. XXXII:3C<sup>4</sup>) was dated by Petrie to the third century B.C. The ware of our bowl is similar to that of the bottle, no. 4, above.

Nos. 11 and 13 on Pl. 26 represent other pottery bowls from the Hellenistic Period. No. 11 has a pinkish-red surface and is baked through, while no. 12 exhibits the more characteristic ware with a dark gray core, fine grits and buff surface.

The chevron design represented on sherds from Gibeah (Pl. 26:14-16) has been dated by Wampler (*Bulletin* 80, pp. 13-16) to the Persian Period. In his articles he lists the material from Tell en-Nasbeh and numerous other excavated sites. Albright (*ibid.*, p. 16, n. 6) asserts that the evidence from Tell en-Nasbeh establishes a sure date in the fourth century B.C. for this design and warns against a Hellenistic date. To this discussion we add the crater with chevron design from House G 12/13:1-8 at Lachish, which is assigned by O. Tufnell to the sixth or early fifth century B.C.<sup>37</sup>

The latest published examples from Samaria (*SS III*, Figs. 12:17 and 32:9) are from Period VIII and "later" (*SS III*, fig. 32:10; p. 193).

It seems that we have a typical design of the Persian Period (cf. Kenyon and Crowfoot, *SS III*, pp. 132 and 195) and its appearance at Gibeah probably marks the end of its use. This design, as far as I know, did not occur at Shechem. Therefore the chevron design was undoubtedly dominant in the fifth-fourth centuries B.C., coming to an end late in the fourth or early in the third century B.C.

A variety of form is seen in the lamps from the fourth period (Pl. 17A). Lamp 1 is of Greek style, 2 and 3 are a Palestinian type which seems to have been influenced by the Greek style, 4 and 5 are somewhat like types 2 and 3 with the folds of the clay holding the wick coming together.

<sup>37</sup> *L III*, Pl. 122 and Pl. 91:405; pp. 145 f. On the basis of pottery evidence, O. Tufnell makes the time of occupation of the House contemporary with Stratum I at Megiddo and before the Residency, with which we agree.

Lamon and Shipton date the beginning of Stratum I at Megiddo ca. 600 B.C. (*M I*, p. 91) which is earlier than the tombs at 'Athlit or Stratum II at Tell Abū Hawām, with which we agree, on the basis of a general impression that I material is Iron II, but coarser and more decadent. However, the end of Stratum I is given by Lamon, Shipton, and Schumacher as ca. 350 B.C. Albright (*AJA*, 44, p. 549.) revises the date to ca. 450 B.C. The shaved amphora, characteristic of 'Athlit (*QDAP*, II, Pl. XIX:384), Tell Abū Hawām II (*QDAP*, IV, Fig. 3, p. 4) and elsewhere, is not found at Megiddo, but an earlier form of the "sausage" jar appears in I (*M I*, Pl. 16:79, 80). Moreover, only two sherds of black-glazed Attic ware appear at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 23:1). This Attic ware is known at Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pl. XLVI), 'Athlit and Lachish, Level I (*L III*, p. 133), dating late fifth-early fourth century B.C. The excavators based their 350 B.C. date for the end of Megiddo I on three Greek lamps (*M I*, Pl. 37:1-3). Albright (*AJA*, 44, p. 549) says that these are questionable and not satisfactory for determining the end of Stratum I. However, with the appearance at Megiddo of new forms such as the flat base, one-handled ridged juglet (*M I*, Pl. 1:6) and the loop-handled jug (*M I*, Pl. 12:64) which are found at 'Athlit (*QDAP*, II, Fig. 4 f., p. 51) and Tell Abū Hawām II (*QDAP*, IV, Fig. 7 [p. 4] and *QDAP*, III, Pl. XXIII:12, 13), we cannot date the end of Stratum I much below the early fifth century B.C. Albright notes that C. Watzinger (*Tell el-Mutesellim II*, p. 87) has an Attic coin dated ca. 450 B.C. which seems to be a suitable *terminus a quo* for the end of Megiddo, Stratum I. (I independently arrived at the same date as Albright for the end of Megiddo I before seeing his review.)

<sup>36</sup> For the end of Megiddo I, see below n. 37.



Our lamp of Greek style belongs to Type VII from Corinth (Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps* No. 124, Fig. 66, p. 141) having a range of fifth through the fourth century B.C. and extension into the third century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 46). This class of Greek lamps, with or without knobs, has been subdivided into two groups, VIIA and VIIB by Thompson (*Hesperia*, II, p. 199 and III, 460) on the basis of evidence from the Agora at Athens. The lamps of both groups are characterized by heavy walls, well defined bases, and are wheel-made. The groove encircling the top of the lamps VIIA is deep and within the groove a broad, gently convex shoulder surrounds the filling hole. The first group has glaze on the inside and outside. The VIIB group has glaze only on the inside. Moreover, the deep groove has become smaller, changing the shoulder around the filling hole, which is narrower and more rounded.

Lamps similar to those of Corinthian type VII were found at Olynthus and classified as series 6 (Robinson, *Olynthus* II [Baltimore, 1930], pp. 137-141),<sup>38</sup> and group 8 (*Olynthus* V, pp. 279-282). One example of this type of lamp was found at Antioch (Waagé, *Antioch on-the-Orontes* I, Pl. VII:1924 [p. 58]), while a number of examples have been published from the Athenian Agora (R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. IV, Greek Lamps and Their Survival [Princeton, 1958]). Howland's type 25A (*ibid.*, Pls. 9 and 38, nos. 267-284) which is parallel to the Corinthian type VII, dates to the fourth-third centuries B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. 67-69). Tarsus, Group I (*Tarsus*, Fig. 93:1), from the early Hellenistic, is also parallel to Corinth VII.

Our lamp, unglazed, belongs to Corinthian group VIIA, along with a lamp of Greek style from Athlît, Tomb L35 (*QDAP*, II, Fig. 92, [p. 103]), fourth century B.C. It comes at Shechem from the Hellenistic levels in the East Gate Area;<sup>39</sup> at Bethel; at Tell Jemmeh, Levels 200, 201 (*Gerar*, Pl. 61:91X); and at Samaria, Cistern 7, Strip I

(*HES*, p. 318:3c)<sup>40</sup> and Hellenistic Period, dated to the fourth-third centuries B.C. (*SS III*, Fig. 85:4, p. 367).

The small folded-over lamp (Pl. 17A:2, 3) probably arose under the influence of the Greek lamp, and is well known to have been characteristic of the Hellenistic Period. Sellers (*CBZ*, p. 51) remarks that the eleven Greek lamps in the Hellenistic Period at Beth-zur (*CBZ*, Fig. 41 [p. 51]) are a mixture, some with a flat base, others without base and having a rounded bottom. This type of lamp appeared at Jerusalem (*EJ*, Pl. 25:5, base uncertain), dated Hellenistic; the Citadel (*QDAP*, XIV, Fig. 14:5 [p. 145], flat base) from the first century B.C.; Tell Sandannah (*EP*, Fig. 48 [p. 130]) from the Seleucid Period; in and near Tomb 15 at Beth-shemesh (*AS II*, Pl. L:24, round base; Pl. L:26, flat base), dated as Hellenistic;<sup>41</sup> at Bethel from a locus dated to the third century B.C.; at Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN II*, Pl. 71:1643, flat base; Pl. 71:1644, rounded bottom), dated by Wampler 450-250 B.C. (*TN II*, p. 46); at Samaria from Locus S10d (flat base)<sup>42</sup> (notice that the opening of this example from Samaria is larger than the opening on our lamps); and Ramat Raḥel from Stratum IV, dated to the Persian-Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods (*IEJ*, 6, Fig. 8:1, 2; p. 137).

This type of lamp is limited to the Hellenistic Period. On the basis of the evidence at Gibeah and Bethel, it began in the third century B.C.; it appears as late as the first century B.C. at Jerusalem and Samaria.

Our third style of lamp from Gibeah has a round bottom, with folds touching or coming closely together (Pl. 17A:4, 5), and it has lost the symmetry characteristic of the earlier lamp,

<sup>38</sup> The lamps at Gezer (*Gezer III*, Pl. XCVII:1-5) are not clear and some may be of a different type.

<sup>39</sup> According to Wright, Tomb 15 was empty (*AS V*, p. 77) but belonged to a type of Stratum II which ended in the sixth century B.C. He says elsewhere that lamp no. 24 was the only object found in the tomb. Grant remarks (*AS II*, p. 24) that lamp no. 24 (879) is transitional in type to a "shoe" lamp, Pl. L:23. We now know that this is quite wrong; see n. 39 above and literature there cited.

<sup>42</sup> *HES*, Fig. 187:5a (p. 318); the material from this locus was almost entirely second-first centuries B.C.; grooved-rim bowl, originally Greek, third or second century (p. 297, § 2a); plate, second century (p. 304, II 2o); red glazed bowl (p. 306, 17a); Samian bowl (p. 306, 5b); first century B.C. fragment of Megarian bowl and other material.

<sup>38</sup> Waagé (*Antioch on-the-Orontes* I [Princeton, 1934], p. 59) dates these lamps to the third century B.C.

<sup>39</sup> Our lamp is distinguished from the "shoe" lamp of Beth-shemesh (*AS IV*, Pl. XLVIII:10), which has a collar built up around the opening for filling. For a discussion of the "shoe" lamp, see Wright, *AS V*, p. 145. To his discussion we add the lamp from Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 82:138). See also Rostovtzeff and others, *The Excavation at Dura-Europos*, Vol. IV, *The Lamps* (1947), pp. 58-69.

tending to be longer in relation to width. Even with a rounded bottom this style of lamp is functional since it is hard to spill the oil.<sup>43</sup>

The pottery of the fourth period indicates that we cannot date the reoccupation of Gibeah later than the Persian Period. Such forms as the hole-mouth amphora (Pl. 23:15, 16), the jars with rounded rims (Pl. 24:1-9), water jars (Pl. 25:9, 10, 14, 15, 18-20, 22), and the chevron design (Pl. 26:14-16), all have their beginning in the Persian Period. On the other hand, we have none of the characteristic forms represented at Tell Abū Hawām, Stratum II, the tombs of 'Athlīt, or the Persian Period at Bethel, which is fifth-fourth centuries B. C. It seems that a date near the end of the Persian Period is indicated as the beginning of our fourth period.

It is certain that the mound was occupied in the third century because of a number of new forms which appear: cooking pots (Pl. 25:6, 7), folded rim jars (Pl. 24:10, 11, 16, 22, 23), and flasks (Pl. 26:1-3), all Hellenistic third century or later. A date no later than the third century is necessary because: 1) we do not have examples of the strap-handle which began in the second phase of Hellenistic at Bethel, 2) our sherds show no evidence of ribbing, which makes its appearance

in the second century B. C., 3) the thin, egg-shell ware characteristic of late Hellenistic is not displayed in our pottery. The general impression is that our pottery shows features which become more developed in the second and first centuries B. C. The flasks (Pl. 26:1-3) stand between the Persian type and the more advanced early Roman style with twisted handles.

The general ceramic horizon follows the occupation of Building A at Tell Jemmeh and the Residency at Lachish (450-350 B. C.) and is contemporary with the earliest deposits and Cistern 3 of the Basilica and Cistern 7, Strip I at Samaria (late fourth-early third century B. C.), the Hellenistic Period of the East Gate at Shechem (late fourth century B. C.),<sup>44</sup> and the first Hellenistic phase at Bethel. It seems that we can date the beginning of our fourth period in the second half of the fourth century and its end in the third century B. C., the latest *ca.* 200 B. C.

The date for the end of the fourth period is supported by additional evidence gained from coins found scattered in debris in the house complex on the eastern slope of the mound. All three coins (Pl. 12B and C) are from the reign of Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) 285-247 B. C.

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<sup>43</sup> This form of lamp has few parallels; in fact, the only similar lamp appeared on the Island of Cyprus in the fourth-third centuries B. C. At Vouni in Tombs 8 and 11 (*SCE III*, Pls. 104, 106), the excavators found three styles of large lamps; one style has a flat, raised base, the second is flat on the bottom with no distinct base, and those with round bottoms form a third group. These are all third century B. C. except Tomb 11 which extends into the first century A. D. Most of the lamps from tombs of Kountoura Trachonia (*SCE I*, Pls. 73 ff.) belong to our second group, but a lamp from Tomb 7 seems to be analogous to ours, dated in the third cen-

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tury B. C. It is evident that our lamps are characteristic of the fourth period at Gibeah.

<sup>44</sup> The Lapps (*op. cit.*, p. 27) date the first level of the East Gate at Shechem 325-275 B. C. Tentatively we can agree at this point. However, an examination of photographs of the pottery from the East Gate shows several pieces from the late third and second centuries B. C. Therefore, it seems that a gap appears between the lower and upper levels; the dates of the upper level are too high and must be lowered with those of the Hellenistic house (see above, Chap. VI, n. 1).

## CHAPTER VIII

### LATEST OCCUPATION AND STONE AND METAL OBJECTS

The reoccupation of the mound in the Early Roman Period, as shown by the abundance of pottery dated to the first century B. C.—first century A. D., is illustrated by the latest floor levels and grain pits on the eastern slope of the mound and by the houses built around the foot of the ruined fortress. Apparently the fortress was not rebuilt in this period.

A clear destruction in Rooms 8 and 9 (Pl. 29), dating in the fourth and fifth periods, has been pointed out above. The early Roman pavement in Room 2 appears also in the adjacent room to the west (Room 6), and the pottery above the pavement and from Rooms 1, 3, and 5 forms a homogeneous collection of early Roman pottery. Sherds of ribbed cooking pots made of hard thin ware appeared, similar to the cooking pot from the first campaign (ANNUAL IV, Pl. XXIVb:3). The contents of Silo 5 in Room 6 can be dated to the Early Roman Period. Rooms 4, 10 (upper level), and 12 also yielded sherds of early Roman pottery. A broken Roman mill-stone of lava was discovered in the upper level of Room 2 (unpublished).

As has been mentioned above, the north wall of Room 13 seems to rest on an earlier wall which can be dated to the fourth period. The upper levels of Room 13 must belong to our fifth period, the Early Roman Period. We cannot determine the size or arrangement of Room 13; it may have been a large court. In the northeast corner appeared a manger (Pl. 14B), the sides of which are formed by two large slabs laid parallel to each other, and obliquely to the corner. The outer stone slab measured 1.30 m. by 25 cm. by 40-50 cm. and the inner stone, 90 by 10 by 40-45 cm. This manger construction is interesting because it can be dated to about the time of Christ.

To the west in Room 18, above a Hellenistic silo (Silo 10) appeared an oven, made of rubble, about 1.40 by 1.50 m. A better constructed oven was found in Room 14, of which only a part of the wall remains.

The masonry walls at the bottom of the northern revetment of the fortress (Pls. 14A and 28) also

belong to the Early Roman Period. Only sherds of early Roman pottery were found here. The plan of the houses is not clear, and it seems that since the revetment sloped back, rooms were constructed one on top of the other in stair-steps to use the revetment as a house wall. The masonry is not distinctive, but of rubble construction.

The village was probably destroyed by Titus, who according to Josephus (*The Wars of the Jews*, Book V, Chapter II), camped there the last night before he reached Jerusalem in A. D. 70.

### STONE AND METAL OBJECTS FROM GIBEAH

#### Stone Bowls

The three stone bowls found at Gibeah were cut from lava (Pl. 26:8, 9) or from white limestone (Pl. 26:10). No. 10 came from Room 24 and the other two from debris north of the fortress. A bowl similar in shape to nos. 8 and 9, but closer to no. 8 in size, appeared in Stratum I at Megiddo (M I, Pl. 113:1).<sup>1</sup> Parallels to no. 10 were found at Anthedon (*Anthedon*, Pl. XXVI:15), dated to the late fourth century, and at Lachish from the Residency, which is dated 450-350 B. C. (*L III*, Pl. 64:5; p. 135). The Lachish bowl was of marble. These bowls seemingly belong to the time of the fourth fortress.

#### Spindle Whorls

The general class of spindle whorls to which the two from Gibeah belong (Pl. 19C:1) is usually made of gray soapstone, black slate, white limestone, bone, glass, or pottery. They range in form from a hemisphere to a flat disc, and from slightly truncated cone to lower and more rounded with convex or concave sides, and are usually two to four centimeters in diameter. Spindle whorls have been found dating from the Middle Bronze to Hellenistic. Wright states (*AS V*, p. 160) that the commonest type of the early period is in the shape of a slightly truncated cone, as no. 23, but in

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VII, n. 37 for the date of Stratum I at Megiddo.



Stratum II at Beth-shemesh the top is more rounded.<sup>2</sup>

On typological grounds our spindle whorls are representative of two periods; the earlier whorl to the left (Pl. 19C:1) is a slightly truncated cone, while the later whorl on the right is larger and more rounded. A specific date is difficult to fix.

### Plow Tip

The iron plow tip (Pl. 19A) found during the first campaign in Room A of Saul's fortress "reminds us that we are already well into the Iron Age, when iron began to be used for agricultural implements (cf. I Sam. 13:19-21 from the beginning of Saul's reign)."<sup>3</sup> Similar large iron plow tips were found at Beth-shemesh (*AS II*, Pl. XLVII:31, 32, 40, 41) roughly contemporary with ours; Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pls. XXVI:2 and LXVI:5) from Level 186;<sup>4</sup> Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 61:1, 2) from Levels II and III; Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN I*, Pl. 96:1), not older than 700 B. C. (*TN I*, p. 255); and Gezer (*Gezer III*, Pl. CXXVIII:1, 2) later than the sixth century B. C.<sup>5</sup> From the above evidence it is clear that the plow tips of Gibeah and Beth-shemesh are the earliest.

### Iron Nails

Iron nails (Pl. 19C:2, 5) appear in Palestine in the seventh-sixth centuries B. C. They have been found at Samaria (*HES*, Fig. 220 [p. 349]); at Tell Zakariyā (*EP*, Pl. 81:3) from the Hellenistic Period; Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pl. XXVII:4, 4a) Levels 198 and 199, respectively;<sup>6</sup> Gezer (*Gezer III*, Pl. CXCIV) later than sixth century B. C.;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Albright's explanation for the use of the spindle whorl, *TBM II*, § 64.

<sup>3</sup> *ANNUAL IV*, p. 17. Albright adds, "It has long been recognized generally that iron came into the country as a material for tools and implements with the Philistines, who held a monopoly on the supply of this metal, and possessed all the iron-smiths." See also Wright, *AJA*, 43, pp. 458-463. For a general discussion of iron in antiquity with bibliography, see Forbes, *Metalurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 378-467. Forbes is, however, dependent on the excavator's dates, some of which are quite antiquated.

<sup>4</sup> Wright dates Level 186 ca. 900 B. C. (*AS V*, p. 153, n. 17).

<sup>5</sup> See Albright, *TBM III*, pp. 29, 62. There is a complete break in the occupation at Gezer from the late tenth to the sixth century B. C., except for the Assyrian villa of the seventh century.

<sup>6</sup> For the date of Level 198, see Chapter VII, n. 34.

<sup>7</sup> See above n. 5.

and from Ezion-geber (Tell Kheleifeh; Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 110) from the third and fourth towns.

### Loop Pins

Similar bronze loop pins (Pl. 19C:3) were found at Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 84) and Anthedon (*Anthedon*, Pl. XIX) from late Iron II-early Persian times.

### Bronze Handle

The odd shaped piece of bronze (Pl. 19C:6) is exactly parallel to a piece from Samaria (*HES*, Fig. 237:3a [p. 364]) where it is described as a "handle hook." This handle has been made by bending the bronze into a loop with the two flattened ends turned out horizontally. Notice that our handle still retains the rivets in the flattened ends, while one of the rivets has been lost from the example at Samaria. The excavator originally suggested that our handle might be a bent fibula. The handle at Samaria is dated to the Hellenistic Period (*HES*, p. 363). This, then, belongs to the time of fourth fortress.

### Iron Knives

The knives from Gibeah (Pl. 19C:7-9, 11) vary in shape, nos. 7 and 8 being broader than nos. 9 and 11, and shorter (no. 9 appears to be bent). No. 9 was found in Room 4 and no. 11 in Room 26. Similar iron knives from the Persian and Hellenistic Periods have been found at Samaria (*HES*, Fig. 219:2b [p. 348]); Tell Zakariyā (*EP*, Pl. 81:1); Lachish (*L III*, Pl. 59); Tell Jemmeh (*Gerar*, Pls. XXX, XXXI); Megiddo (*M I*, Pl. 83); Anthedon (*Anthedon*, Pls. XX-XXV); Tell en-Naşbeh (*TN I*, Pl. 96) and Gezer (*Gezer III*, Pl. CXCIX).

### Adze or Chisel

An iron tool similar to that on Pl. 19C:10 was discovered at Samaria and designated as a chisel with a rolled top (*HES*, Fig. 221:2b, 2c [p. 350]) from the Hellenistic Period. At first the writer thought that our example was an adze, but an adze has the handle at right angles to the cutting edge of the blade. Therefore, this is a chisel, with the handle fitting into the rolled top.

The only other object that remains to be mentioned is the earthenware flue (Pl. 19B), the precise use of which remains a mystery. A section drawing appears in *ANNUAL IV*, Pl. XXXIII:6.

## APPENDIX I

### LIST AND DESCRIPTION OF POTTERY DRAWINGS

#### PLATE 20 A bowl and storage-jar rims of Periods I and II.

1. Room B. Brownish-red slip on buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits. Nearly continuous hand burnishing on the outside only.
2. Debris north of fortress. Rim of storage jar, collared. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, some grits.
3. Debris north of fortress. Rim of storage jar from time of Saul. Creamy-gray slip, dark gray core, coarse grits.
4. Debris north of fortress. Rim of storage jar, collared. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, some grits.
5. Debris east of fortress. Rim of storage jar, collared. Brick-red surface, black core, some grits.
6. Debris north of west side of fortress. Rim of storage jar from time of Saul. Reddish-buff surface, dark gray core, coarse grits.
7. Room 25. Reddish-buff surface, dark gray core with grits.
8. Room 26. Rim of storage jar, transitional type. Buff surface, baked through, minute grits, well levigated.
9. Room B. Rim of storage jar, collared. Buff surface, dark gray core, some grits.
10. Room 23. Reddish-buff surface, coarse grits.
11. Room 9. Rim of storage jar, transitional type. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, some grits.
12. Room A. Rim of storage jar, transitional type. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, some grits.
13. Room 10. Rim of storage jar, collared. Cream to reddish-buff surface, buff core with grits.
14. Room A. Rim of storage jar from time of Saul. Buff surface, dark gray core, coarse grits.
15. Room A. Rim of storage jar from time of Saul.
16. Debris west of fortress. Rim of storage jar from time of Saul. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, coarse grits.
17. Debris west of fortress. Rim of storage jar from time of Saul. Reddish-buff surface, dark gray core, coarse grits.
18. Room A. Rim of storage jar, transitional type. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, some grits.
19. Room 14. Rim of storage jar, transitional type.
20. Room B. Rim of storage jar, transitional type. Buff surface, dark gray core, some grits.

#### PLATE 21 Rims of cooking pots of Periods I and II.

- |                                   |             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Debris on east slope of mound. | 3. Room 14. |
| 2. Room B.                        | 4. Room 23. |
|                                   | 5. Room 14. |

- |              |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| 6. Room 14.  | 14. Debris west of fortress. |
| 7. Room 14.  | 15. Room A.                  |
| 8. Room A.   | 16. Room 1.                  |
| 9. Room 14.  | 17. Room 9.                  |
| 10. Room 14. | 18. Room 9.                  |
| 11. Room 14. | 19. Silo 14.                 |
| 12. Room 14. |                              |
| 13. Room 19. |                              |

#### PLATE 22 Rims of bowls of Period III.

1. Debris south of fortress. Red surface, brownish-gray core, small grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
2. Room 13. Reddish-buff surface, brown core, small grits. Spiral burnished only on rim.
3. Debris east of fortress. Reddish-buff surface, brown core, small grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
4. Room 10. Reddish-buff surface, brown core, small grits. Red slip inside. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
5. Room 10. Reddish-buff surface, brown core, small grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
6. Debris southwest corner of revetment. Cream slip outside and on rim. Red surface inside, red core with small grits evenly fired. Broad spiral burnishing inside and on rim.
7. Room 10. Cream to reddish surface, reddish core with small grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
8. Debris south of fortress. Reddish-buff surface, reddish core with small grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
9. Room 10. Brick-red surface, fired through, no grits. Spiral burnished inside only.
10. Debris north of fortress. Light brownish-buff surface, fairly fine clay.
11. Room 16. Reddish-buff surface. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
12. Debris north of west side of fortress. Grayish-buff clay with grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
13. Debris north of west side of fortress. Brick-red surface. Spiral burnished.
14. Room 1. Buff surface, brown core with grits. Spiral burnished inside.
15. Debris south of fortress. Red slip on the surface, brown core with grits. Broad spiral burnishing inside and on rim.
16. Debris north of fortress. Buff surface. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
17. Debris east of fortress. Reddish-buff surface. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
18. Room 10. Light buff to reddish-brown surface,

- brown core with small grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
19. Room 10. Brick-red surface. Spiral burnished.
  20. Room 17. Buff surface outside, reddish-buff surface inside, baked through, gritty.
  21. Debris north of fortress. Reddish-brown surface and core, no grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
  22. (No description recorded).
  23. Debris north of fortress. Brick-red surface and core, fired through, some grits. Spiral burnished inside and outside in technique of the ninth century B. C.
  24. Debris north of fortress. Brick-red surface and core, no grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.

PLATE 23 Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6-8, 11, 13, 14 of Period III.  
Nos. 3, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15-17 of Period IV.

1. Debris north of fortress. Rim of cooking pot. Brownish-red surface, dark gray core.
2. Debris east of fortress. Brownish-red surface and core, few grits. Spiral burnished inside and on rim.
3. Debris north of fortress. Rim of cooking pot. Dark reddish-brown surface and core, baked through, well levigated.
4. Debris north of fortress. Neck of water decanter. Buff surface, brownish-buff inside, dark gray core with minute grits. Spiral burnished outside.
5. Silo 15. Cooking pot. Ribbed handles, minute grits.
6. Debris west of fortress outside of revetment. Rim of cylindrical jar. Reddish-buff surface, dark gray core, small grits.
7. Debris west of top of revetment. Rim of cylindrical jar. Pink surface and core, evenly baked, minute and large grits.
8. Debris east of fortress. Rim of cylindrical jar. Buff surface, baked through but light brownish-gray core with grits.
9. Debris west end of northern revetment of fortress. Reddish-buff, baked through, minute to large grits.
10. Debris northeast of fortress. Buff, baked through, minute to large grits.
11. Debris south of fortress. Rim of cylindrical jar. Reddish-brown surface and core, baked through, very few grits.
12. Debris south of fortress. Buff surface, gray core, minute grits.
13. Debris north of fortress. Rim of cylindrical jar. Brick-red surface and core, baked through, very small grits.
14. Debris south end of eastern slope of mound. Rim of cylindrical jar. Reddish surface, dark gray core with small grits.
15. Debris north end of western revetment. Rim of "hole-mouth" amphora. Creamy-buff to reddish-brown surface, dark gray core with minute grits.
16. Debris south of fortress. Rim of "hole-mouth" amphora. Buff surface and gray core, carelessly levigated.
17. Silo 15. Rim and shoulders with handles of amphora. Buff surface and core, baked through, small grits. The oval section handles are combed lengthwise.

PLATE 24 Pottery of Period IV.

1. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits, well levigated.
2. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits, well levigated.
3. Room 25. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits, well levigated.
4. Silo 17. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits, well levigated.
5. Rim of amphora.
6. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, fired nearly through, minute grits, well levigated.
7. Room 1. Rim of amphora. Yellowish-buff surface, dark gray core, brownish-buff inside, minute grits.
8. Silo 18. Rim of amphora. Light buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits.
9. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Light buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits.
10. Room 5. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
11. Debris south of fortress. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
12. Room 2. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
13. Silo 3. Rim of large jar. Grayish-buff surface, dark gray core, almost no grits, poorly baked.
14. Room 5. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, baked through, well levigated.
15. Room 8. Rim of large jar. Yellowish-buff surface outside, red surface inside, baked through, minute grits.
16. Room 5. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
17. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, dark gray core, minute grits.
18. Silo 5. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
19. Room 5. Rim of large jar. Reddish-buff surface, baked through, virtually no grits.
20. Room 9. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
21. Room 8. Rim of large jar. Pinky-buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
22. Room 6. Rim of large jar. Reddish-buff surface, baked through, virtually no grits.
23. Room 1. Rim of large jar. Brick-red surface, baked through, well levigated.
24. Room 5. Rim of large jar. Brick-red surface, baked through, well levigated.
25. Room 5. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, brick-red core, well levigated.
26. Room 7. Rim of large jar. Pinky-buff surface and core, well levigated.



27. Debris north of west side of revetment. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
28. Debris along eastern slope of mound. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, baked through, well levigated.

#### PLATE 25 Pottery of Period IV.

1. Debris north of west revetment of fortress. Top part of vase. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
2. Room 1. Rim of amphora. Creamy-buff surface, dark gray core with minute grits.
3. Room 5. Neck of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core and interior, a few grits.
4. Debris north of fortress. Rim of large jar. Pinky-buff surface, baked through, minute to large grits.
5. Debris north of fortress. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, baked through, minute grits.
6. Silo 16. Rim of cooking pot. Brownish surface, baked through, well levigated. Oval section handles are combed lengthwise.
7. Room 5. Rim of cooking pot. Brick-red clay, baked through, well levigated.
8. Room 24. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, brick-red core.
9. Silo 18. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
10. Room 8. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
11. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, baked practically through, minute grits (a few small grits).
12. Rim of amphora. Buff surface, dark gray core with minute grits.
13. Debris west of fortress. Rim of amphora. Reddish-buff surface, baked through, minute grits.
14. Room 8. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
15. Room 4. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
16. Silo 20. Rim of amphora. Reddish-buff surface, baked through, minute grits.

17. Silo 4. Rim of jug. Light brownish-buff, baked through, well levigated.
18. Room 1. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
19. Room 5. Rim of jar. Reddish-buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
20. Room 10. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
21. Room 12. Rim of large jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.
22. Silo 7. Rim of jar. Buff surface, dark gray core, well levigated.

#### PLATE 26 Pottery and stone bowls.

1. Silo 7. Handles and neck of lentoid flask. Reddish-buff surface, brick-red core, carelessly made handles.
2. Debris northern part of eastern slope of mound. Handles and neck of lentoid flask. Reddish-brown surface, brick-red core, minute grits.
3. Room 24. Handles and neck of lentoid flask. Buff surface, dark gray core with small grits.
4. Silo 19. Rim and neck of bottle. Buff surface, baked through, minute grits.
5. Debris south of fortress. Bowl.
6. Bowl. Reddish-brown painted surface.
7. Interior of bowl no. 6.
8. Debris north of fortress. Lava bowl.
9. Debris north of fortress. Lava bowl.
10. Room 24. Finely grained, white limestone bowl.
11. Room 18. Rim of bowl. Pinky-red surface, baked through, minute grits.
12. Room 13. Rim of bowl. Buff surface, baked through, well levigated.
13. Room 15. Rim of bowl. Buff surface, buff to dark gray core, minute grits.
14. Debris east of fortress.
15. Debris east of fortress. Rim of amphora. Reddish-buff surface, dark gray to brownish-red core, small grits.
16. Room 13. Rim of amphora. Brick-red surface, dark gray core, minute grits, spiral burnished on rim only (accidental?).

## APPENDIX II

### THE TOMBS OF TELL EL-FUL

A photograph of pottery from tombs found at the southern base of Gibeah, which were exhumed in July, 1909, appears in *PEFQS*, 1915, pp. 35-37. The pottery formed part of the Herbert C. Clark collection now at the Y. M. C. A. in Jerusalem (Israel); Mr. Clark originally dated it 900-500 B. C. Macalister, in the same article, dates the pottery from 800 to the Maccabean Period. Albright dated the water decanters (published in *PEFQS*, 1915, Pl. IV) early in the first millennium, stating that they "last down through the Persian period" (*ANNUAL* IV, pp. 24 f.). He later restricted the appearance of the water decanters to the Iron Age, and considered extension into the Persian Period as possible but unlikely (*TBM* I, pp. 82 f.).

Since the pottery from the tombs has never been adequately studied, it is quite appropriate that two of the forms should now be discussed. Let us first consider the glass vase or amphoriskos (*PEFQS*, 1915, Pl. 1:2). This piece is described by Clark as "iridescent blue glass, inlaid with white and yellow paste [in a zig-zag design around the body] . . ." (*PEFQS*, 1915, p. 35). An analogous vase, found in Tomb 16 at 'Athlît (*QDAP*, II, Pl. XVIII:2), cannot be dated exactly because both an Attic black-figure lekythos and a coin dated 450-330 B. C. were found in it; at Beth-shan the vase is Persian;<sup>1</sup> a vase at Meqabeleïn (*QDAP*, XIV, Pl. XIII:3; p. 45) is dated by Harding to the latter half of the seventh century B. C. (which is too high, see below); and two fragments of glass from Samaria are dated to the sixth-fourth centuries B. C. (*SS* III, Fig. 93: 9, 10; p. 403).

Many examples of this type of glass vase appear outside of Palestine, e. g., at Olynthus (*Olynthus* V, Pl. 196:1124), dated fifth or early fourth century B. C.;<sup>2</sup> in Cyprus at Marion, Tombs 58 (*SCE*

II, Pl. 64) dated late sixth or early fifth century B. C., and Tomb 7 (*SCE* II, Pl. 37) dated ca. fourth century B. C.; at Motya (a Phoenician colony in Sicily), dated a few years after 400 B. C.;<sup>3</sup> and at Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, Fig. 85, p. 99) with many others dated late sixth and fifth centuries B. C. The earliest appearance of this glass vase is in the sixth century at Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, VIII, Fig. 83).

Paul Fossing (*Glass Vessels before Glass-Blowing* [Copenhagen, 1940], p. 2) describes the technique of making glass vessels around a sand core. This technique was used in antiquity until the invention of glass blowing, shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era.<sup>4</sup> According to his typological arrangement of glass vessels from the sixth-fourth centuries B. C. (*ibid.*, pp. 42-58), our vessel is a sand-core amphoriskos of this period.

This type of glass ware was first made outside of Palestine in the sixth century B. C. Fossing (*ibid.*, pp. 78-82) argues that the home of this ware is possibly Greece, although Egypt seems more probable. It is clear that it did not originate with the Phoenicians. Allowing some time for the glass ware to be developed and to be exported, its first appearance in Palestine may be dated roughly about the middle or second half of the sixth century B. C.

The elongated round-bottom bottles called "alabastra" (*PEFQS*, 1915, Pl. II:1) comprise the second form to be considered. "Terracotta ointment jars" (*PEFQS*, 1915, p. 35) is a better term for them. Parallels have been found at 'Athlît,

from Rhitsonian graves, dating from the end of the sixth to the end of the fifth century B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Whitaker, *Motya*, pp. 75 ff. and Fig. 107. Several pieces of this glass cannot be dated exactly, except before the fall of the city, a few years before 400 B. C.

<sup>4</sup> Fossing (*op. cit.*, p. 7) separates the Egyptian glassware of the XVIII-XXI Dynasties from later types because of a gap in our evidence for the manufacture of glass in Egypt beginning after the XXI Dynasty and lasting to the Saite Dynasty. (Albright points out that there is very little published evidence in Egypt for the exact dating of small objects between about 1100 and 700 B. C.)

<sup>1</sup> See Kahane, "Some Aspects of Ancient Glass from Israel," *Antiquity and Survival*, Vol. II (1957), pp. 208-224; Fig. 1, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson (*Olynthus* V, 285, n. 3) quotes from *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 14 where similar vases (Pl. 12:b [p. 264]) are said to have come

Tomb 16 (*QDAP*, II, Pl. XVIII:417) which cannot be dated exactly, as stated above, but well within the Persian Period; at the 'Ammân tombs (*QDAP*, XI, p. 72:38, the lip and neck are missing) dated by Henschel-Simon (*QDAP*, XI, p. 80) 800-600 B. C.; and in the tomb at Meqabelein (*QDAP*, XIV, Pl. XVI:13-15; p. 45), dated by Harding to the second half of the seventh century B. C.

Undoubtedly the items from the Gibeah tombs which we have studied date to the Persian Period. We are inclined to disagree with the dating of the tombs at 'Ammân and Meqabelein.

Albright (*Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach* [Montserrat, 1954], p. 131, n. 2) dates the latest of the 'Ammân tombs to the sixth or early fifth century B. C. Because of the several similarities in pottery between the 'Ammân and Meqabelein tombs and the appearance of the amphoriskos, we should also lower the date for the end of the latter.<sup>5</sup> We cannot lower the beginning of these tombs significantly because of the burnished ware which was found in them, particularly at 'Ammân. A likely solution is that the tombs were used during late Iron II and early Persian.

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<sup>5</sup> The pottery of the Iron Age Tomb at Sahab (*QDAP*, XIII, pp. 92-102) is similar to that of the 'Ammân

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tombs and therefore we lower the date for the end of the tomb to the sixth century B. C.



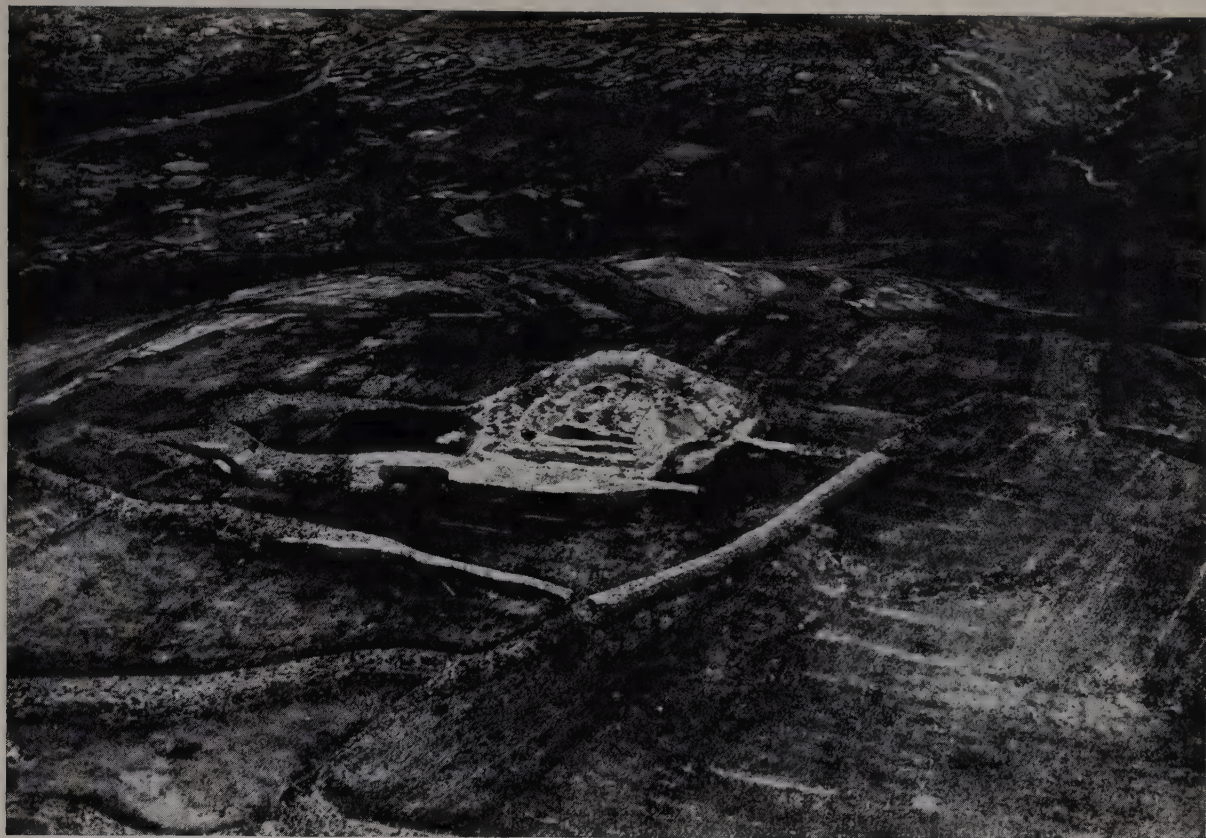


PLATE 1

- (A) Aerial photograph of Tell el-Fül.  
 (B) View of the mound from the northwest.





PLATE 2

(A) View of the interior of the fortress before the second campaign.

(B) View of the interior of the fortress before the second campaign, more to the north.





PLATE 3

(A) Rock installation at the bottom of Room A, from above.

(B) Close-up of the rock installation at the bottom of Room A, from the east.





**PLATE 4**

(A) South wall of Fortress II, from the north.

(B) South Wall of Room A from the north; the lower courses are from Fortress I,  
the upper courses from Fortress II.





(A) South wall of Room A from the northeast; the lower courses are from Fortress I, the upper courses from Fortress II.



(B) Northwest corner of revetment of Periods III and IV, from above.





PLATE 6

(A) Corner of Room C from the northwest; the lower courses are from Fortress I, the upper courses from Fortress II.

(B) Looking westward from Room G past D into Room B through the doorway.





PLATE 7

(A) Fortifications on the west side of the fortress.

(B) Revetment on the west side of the fortress, from the southwest.





PLATE 8

- (A) Uncovered foundations of revetment and face of revetment of Periods III and IV, as seen at the north end of the west side.
- (B) Uncovered foundations of revetment and face of revetment of Periods III and IV, as seen at the north end of the west side.





(A) Uncovered foundations of revetment and face of revetment of Periods III and IV, as seen at the south end of the west side.

(B) Close-up of revetment of Periods III and IV, at north end of west side.





PLATE 10 (A) The revetment on the south side of the fortress with small masonry wall on its face.  
 (B) The revetment on the south side of the fortress with small masonry wall removed.



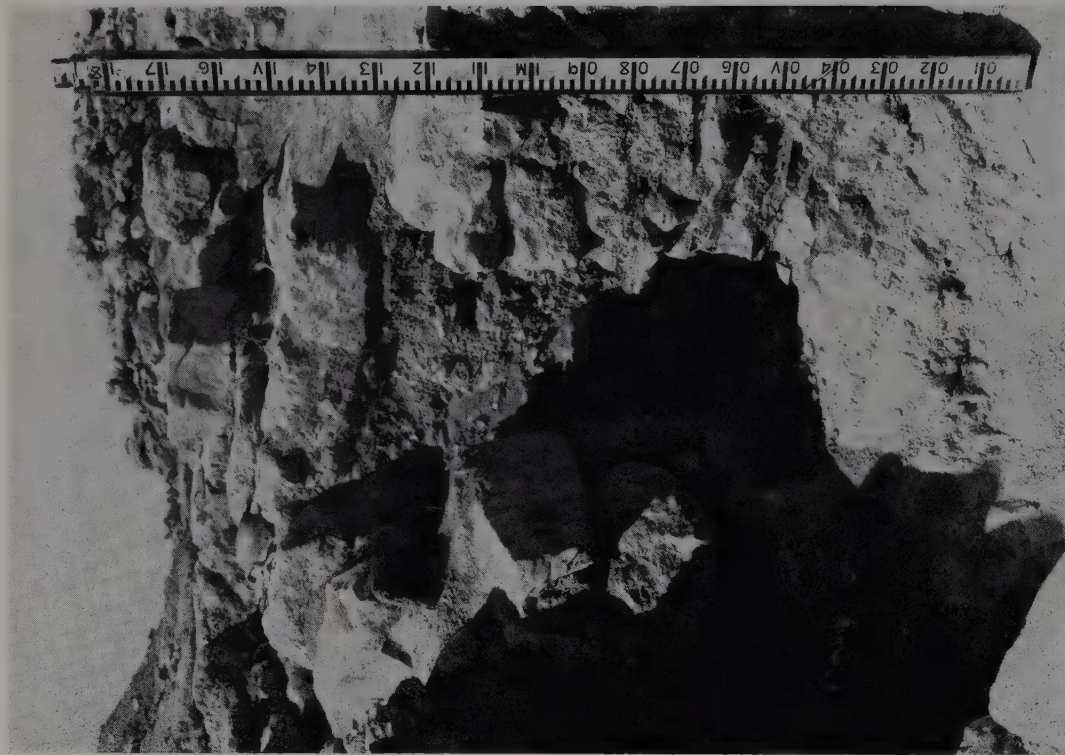


PLATE 11

(A) Southern end of the house complex of Period IV on eastern slope of the mound, from the north (Room 4 in the center).

(B) Northern end of the house complex of Period IV on eastern slope of the mound, from the north (Room 14 at left).





(A) Looking east from Room 9 through doorway into Room 2 of house complex of Period IV on eastern slope of the mound (three stones above Room 2 are from Early Roman Period).



(B) Obverse of bronze coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus.  
(C) Reverse of bronze coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus.





PLATE 13

(A) Installation at west end of Room 13, in the house complex.

(B) Southern end of excavation on the eastern slope of the mound showing grain pits, some of which are of Period V.





PLATE 14 (A) Northern revetment of Fortresses III and IV with early Roman house walls attached.



(B) Early Roman manger in the corner of Room 13 in house complex.

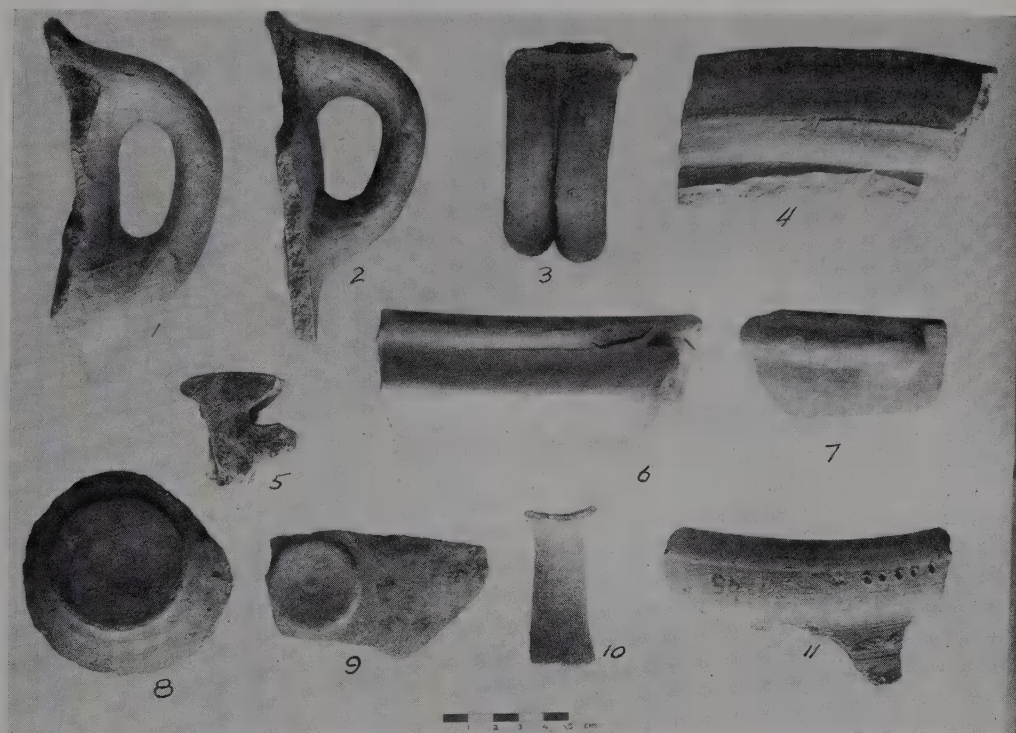


PLATE 15 (A) Iron I cooking pot rims from the first campaign, drawn on ANNUAL IV, pl. XXV.  
 (B) Handles, rims, and bases from the first campaign, drawn on ANNUAL IV, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXX.



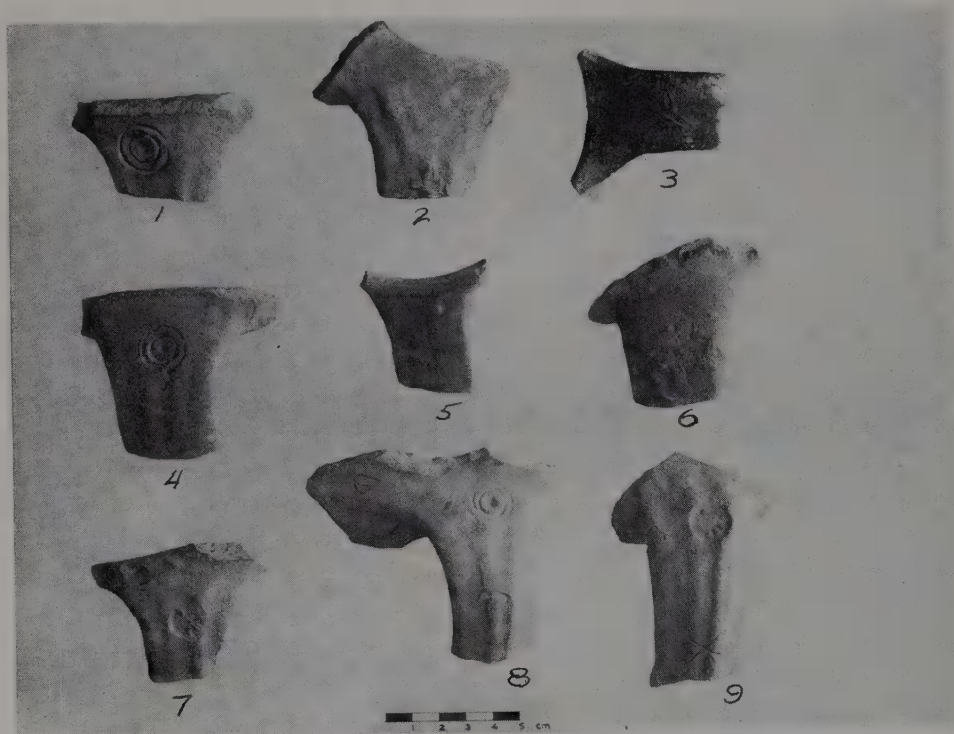
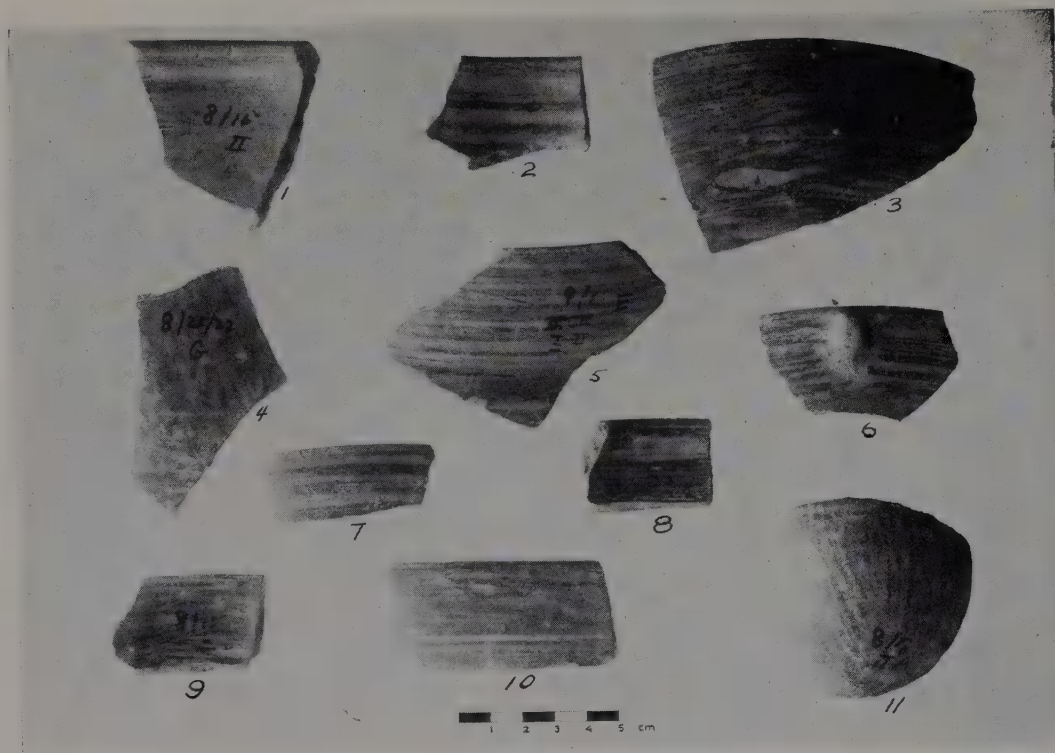


PLATE 16

(A) Collection of sherds showing hand and spiral burnishing.  
 (B) Collection of stamped jar handles of Period III.

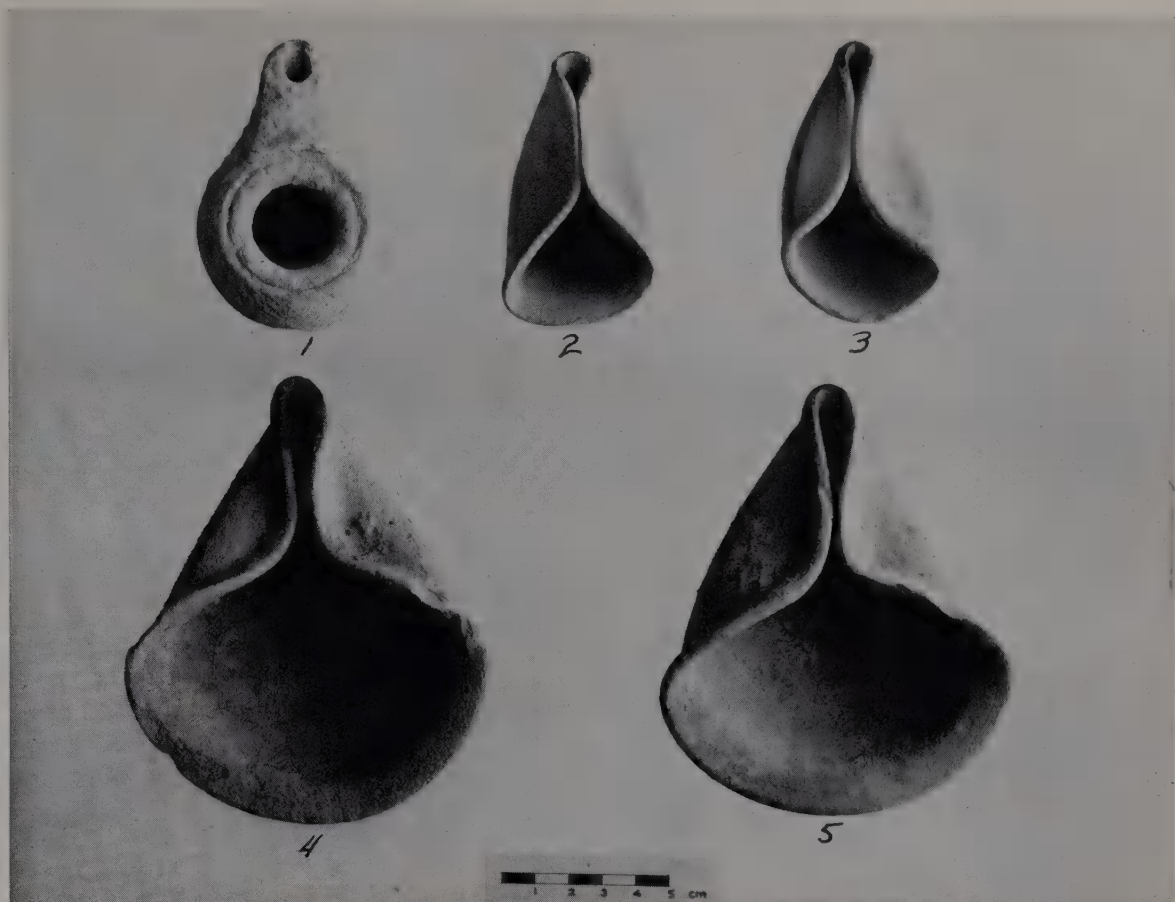


PLATE 17 (A) Collection of lamps of Period IV.

(B) Iron II bowl (Period III) marked "Vase from Tell el-Fûl, found by Pastor Lesider, presented [to the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem] Dec. 7, 1921." Diameter,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  cm.; height, 6 cm.



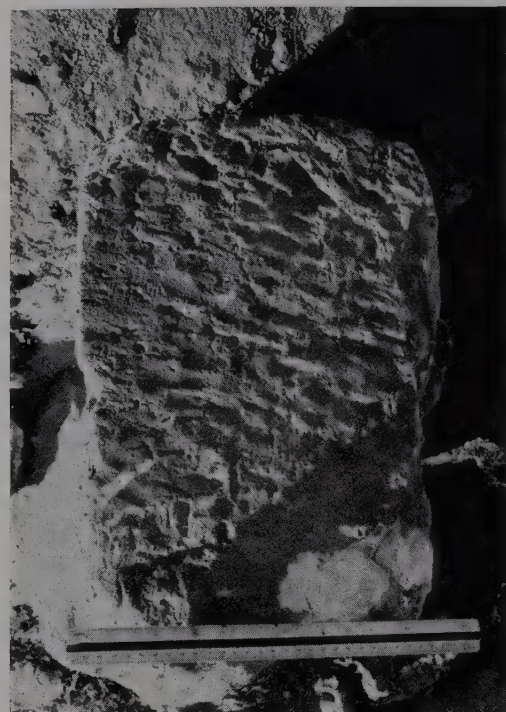
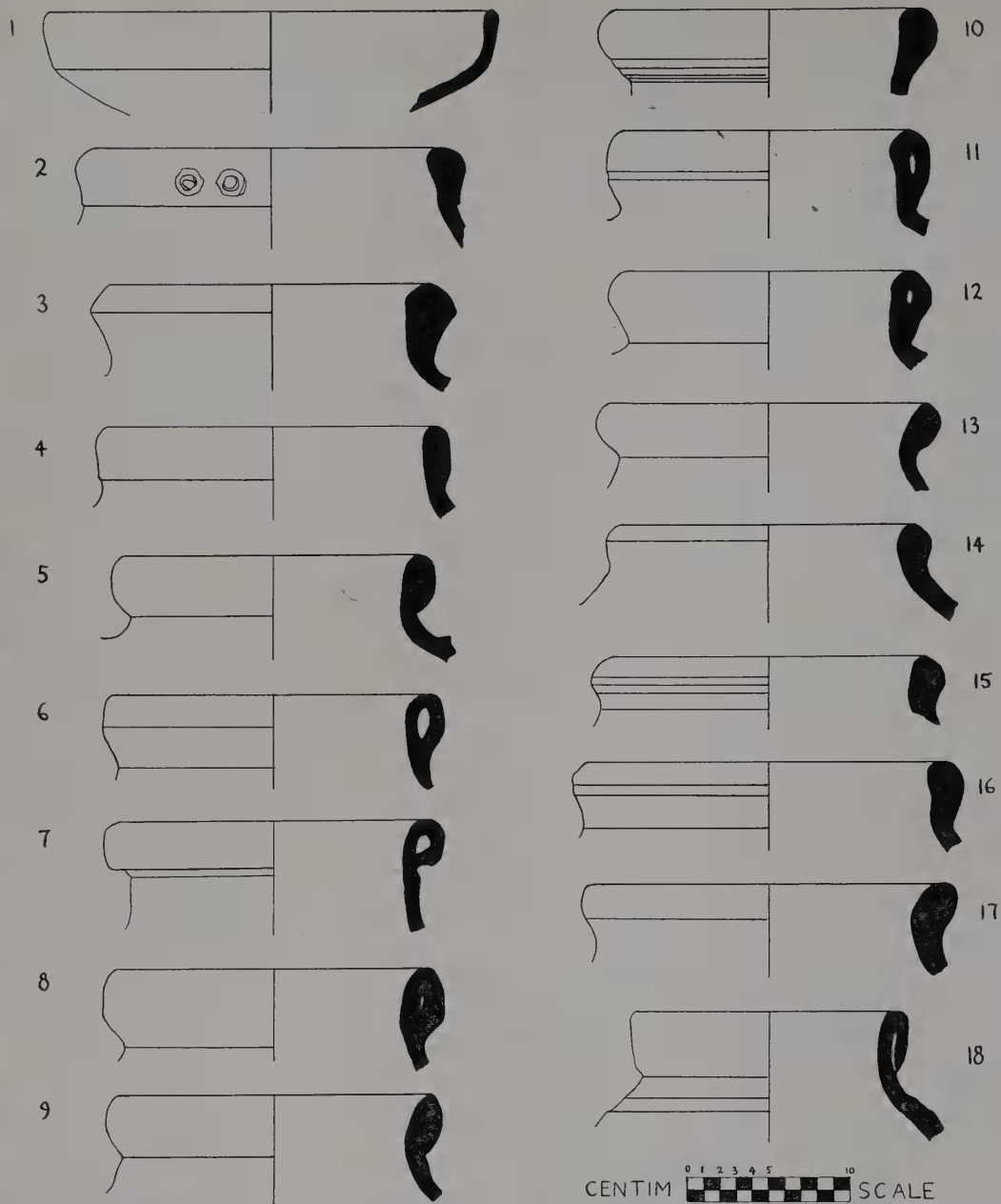






PLATE 19 (A) Iron plow tip from the first campaign. (B) Flue from the first campaign. A section drawing appears in ANNUAL IV, pl. XXXIII.  
(C) Collection of stone and metal artifacts from both campaigns.



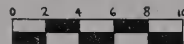
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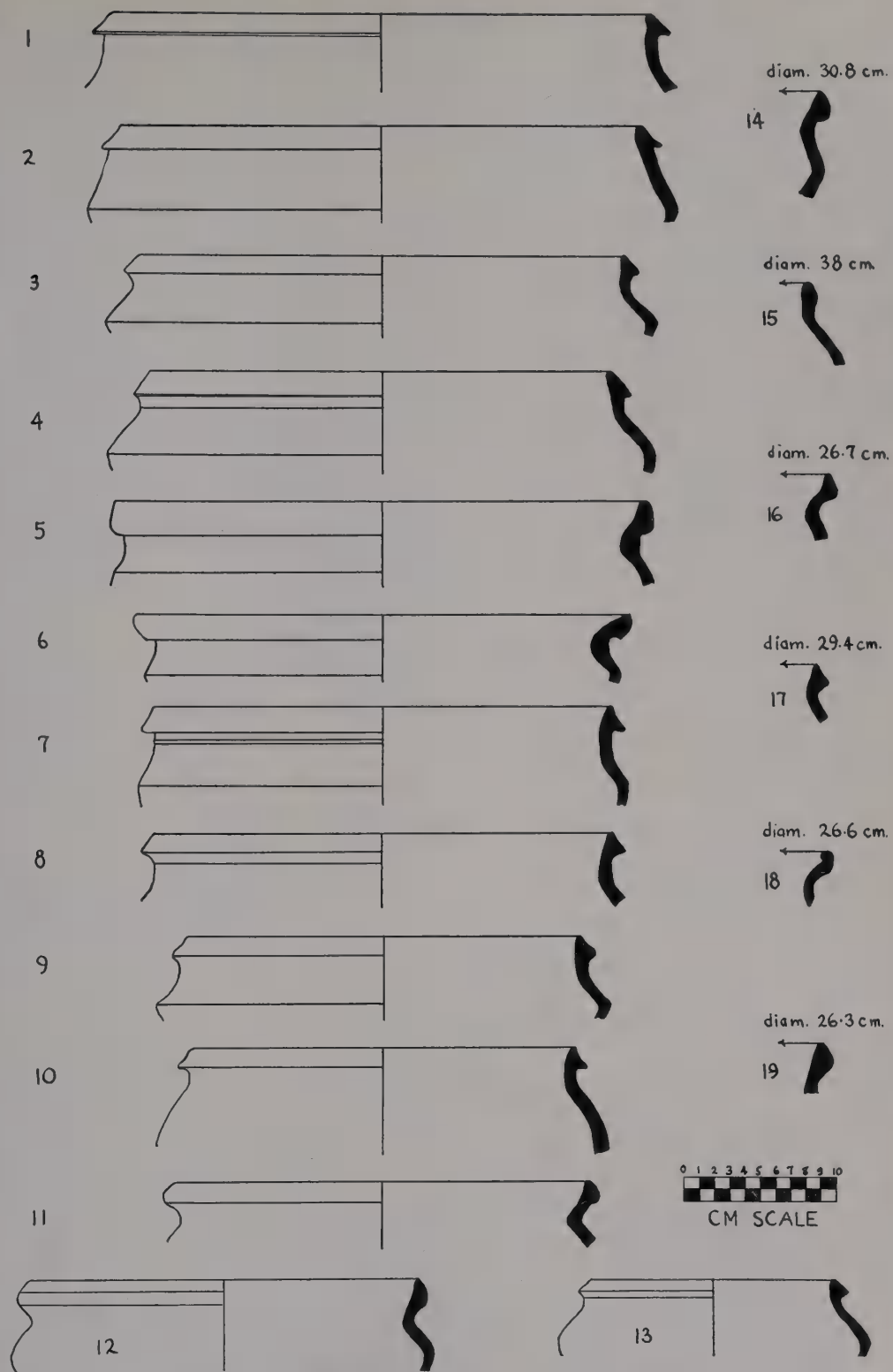


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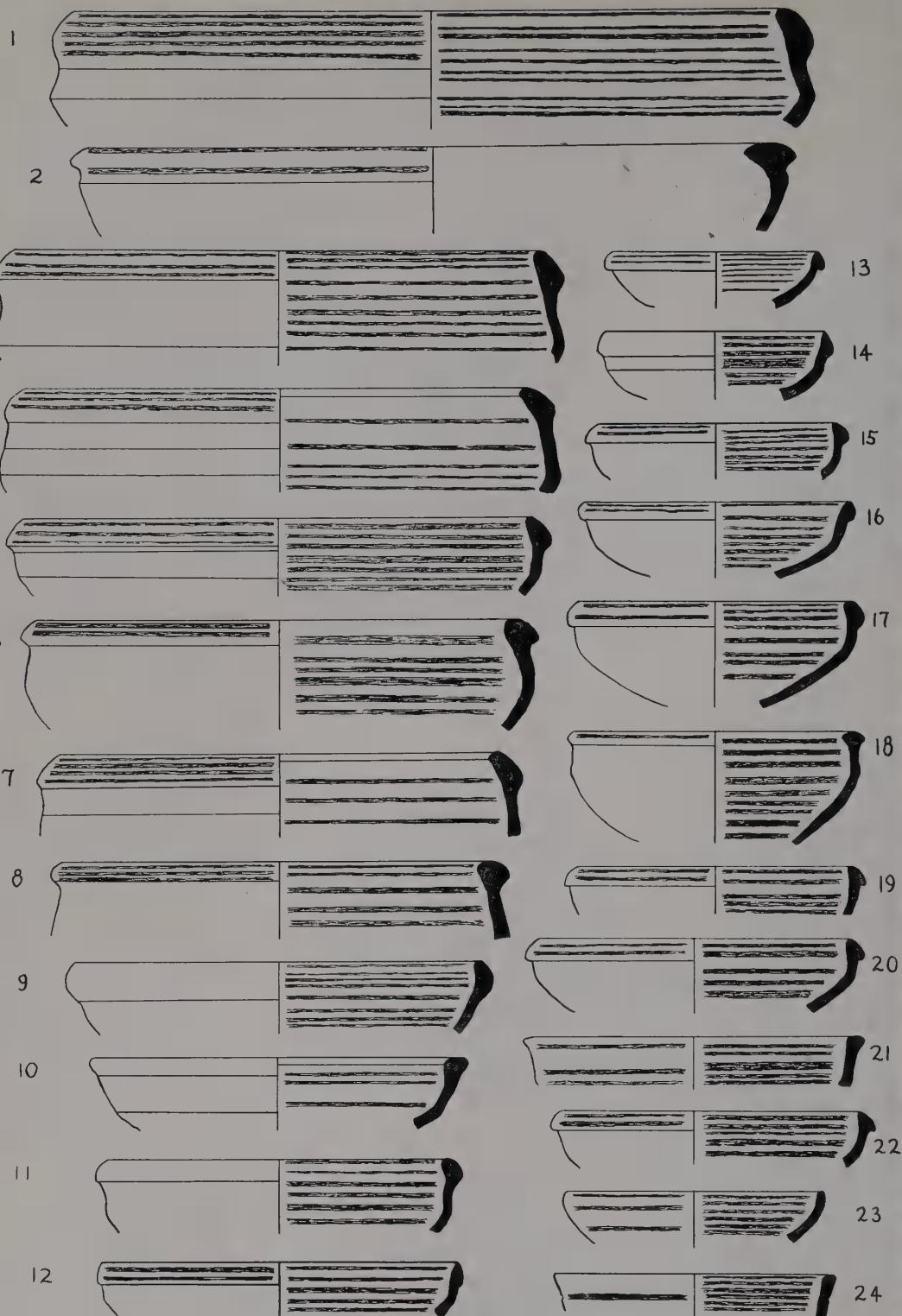


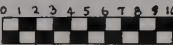
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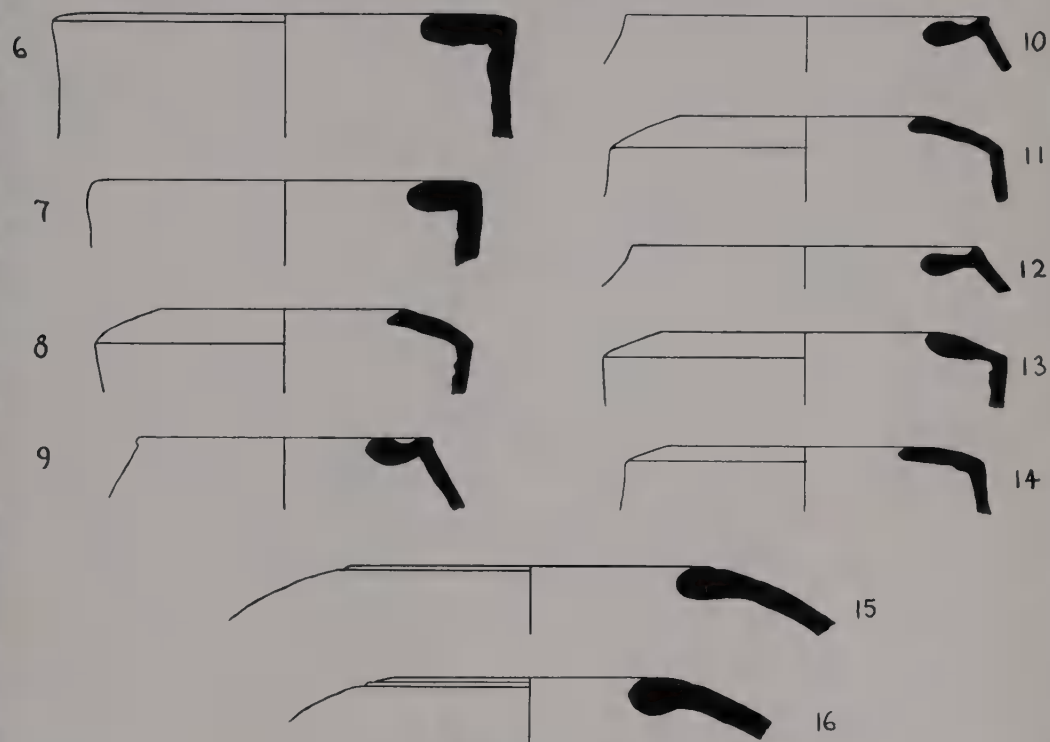
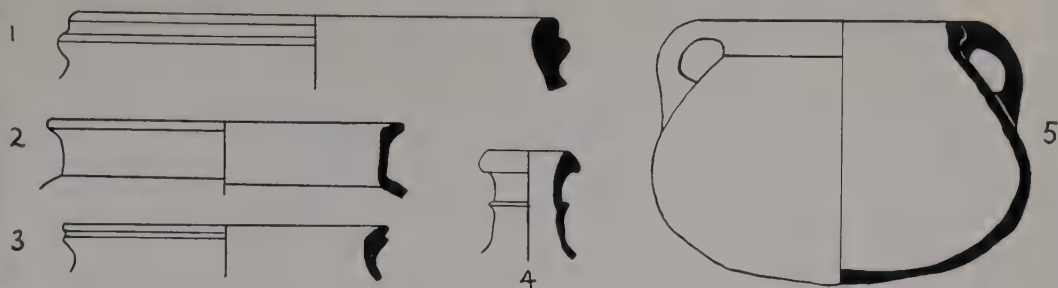


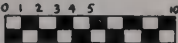


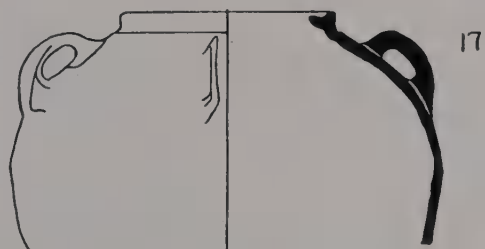


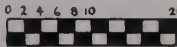


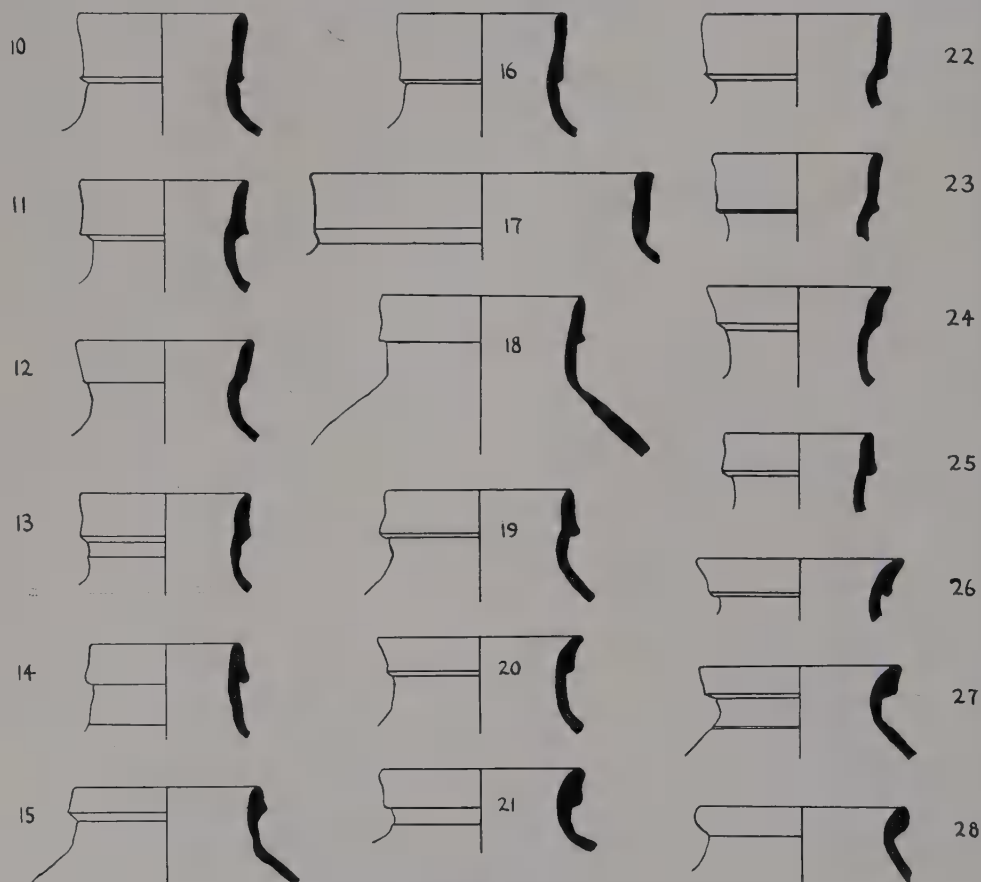
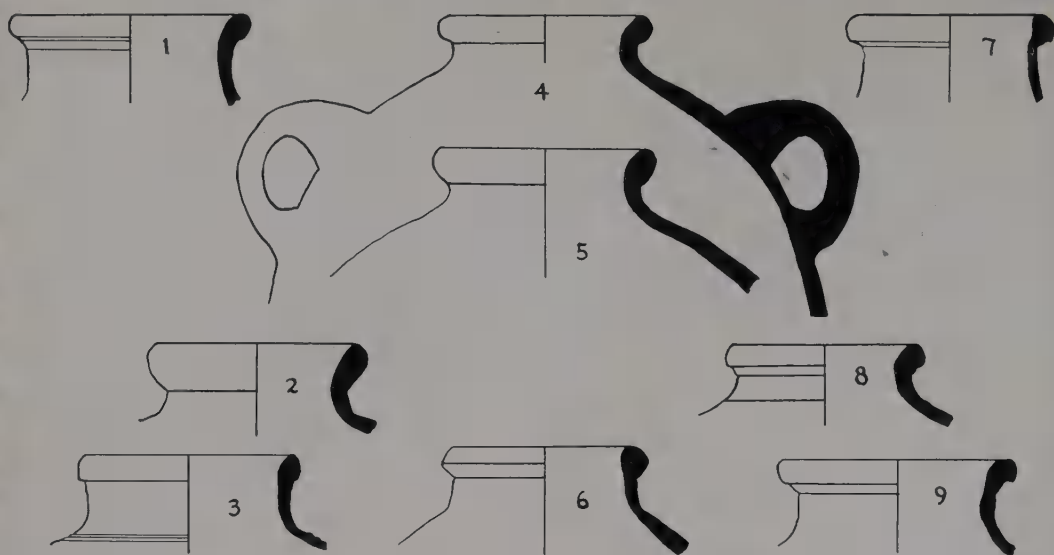
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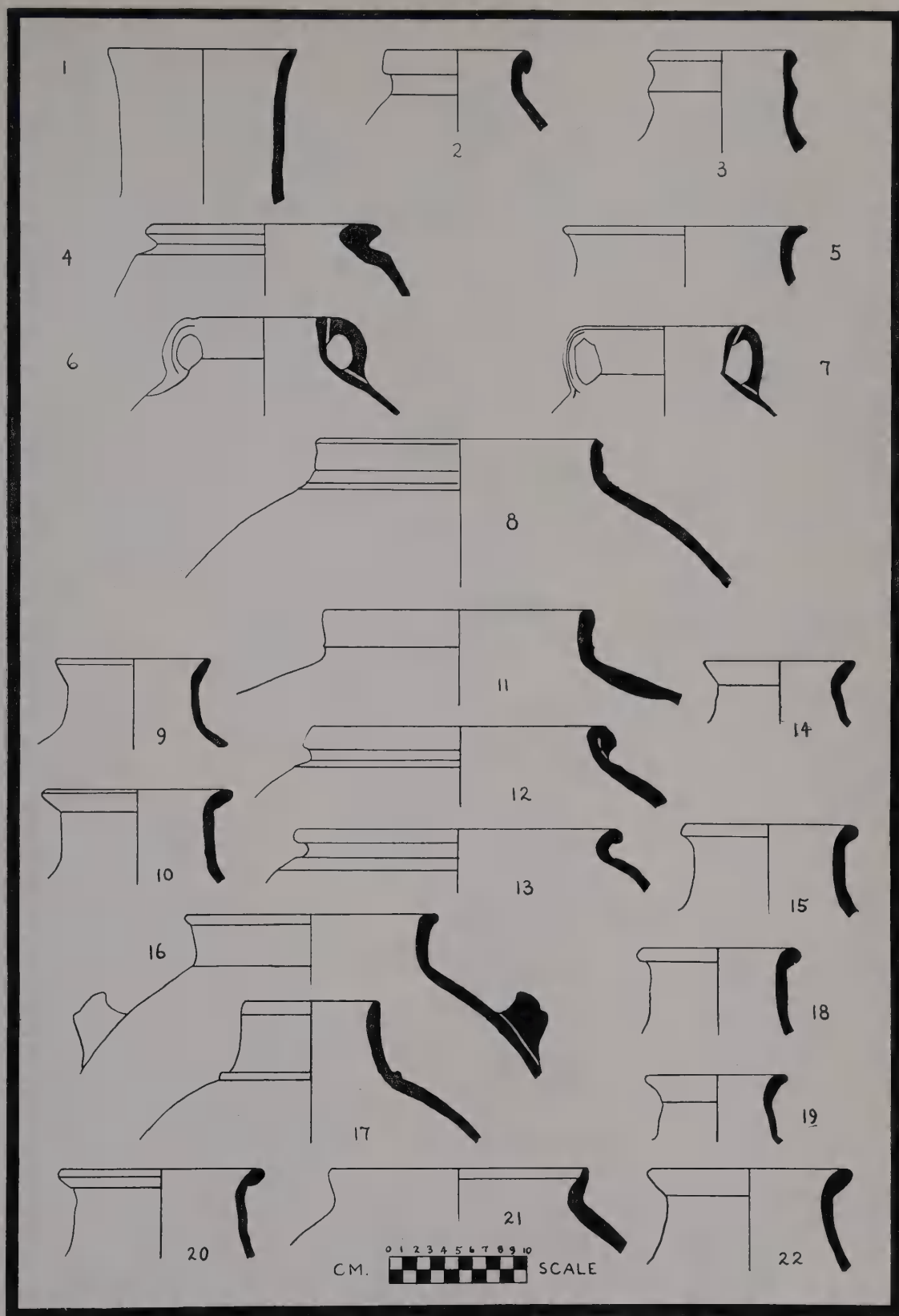


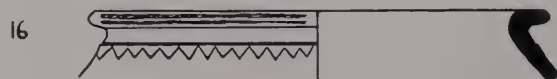
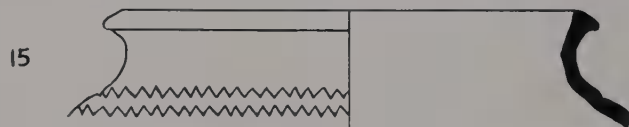
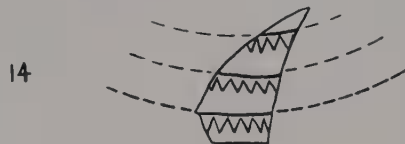
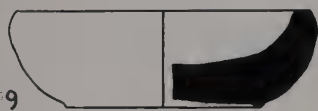
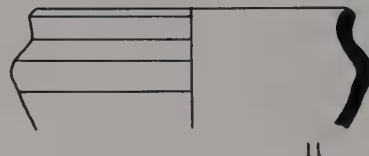
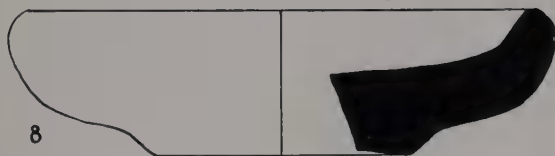
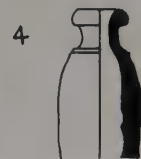
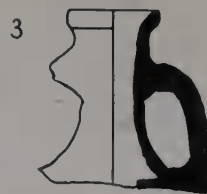
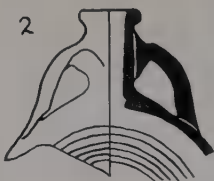
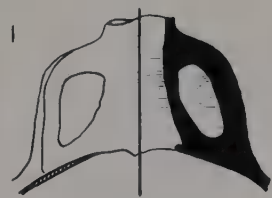
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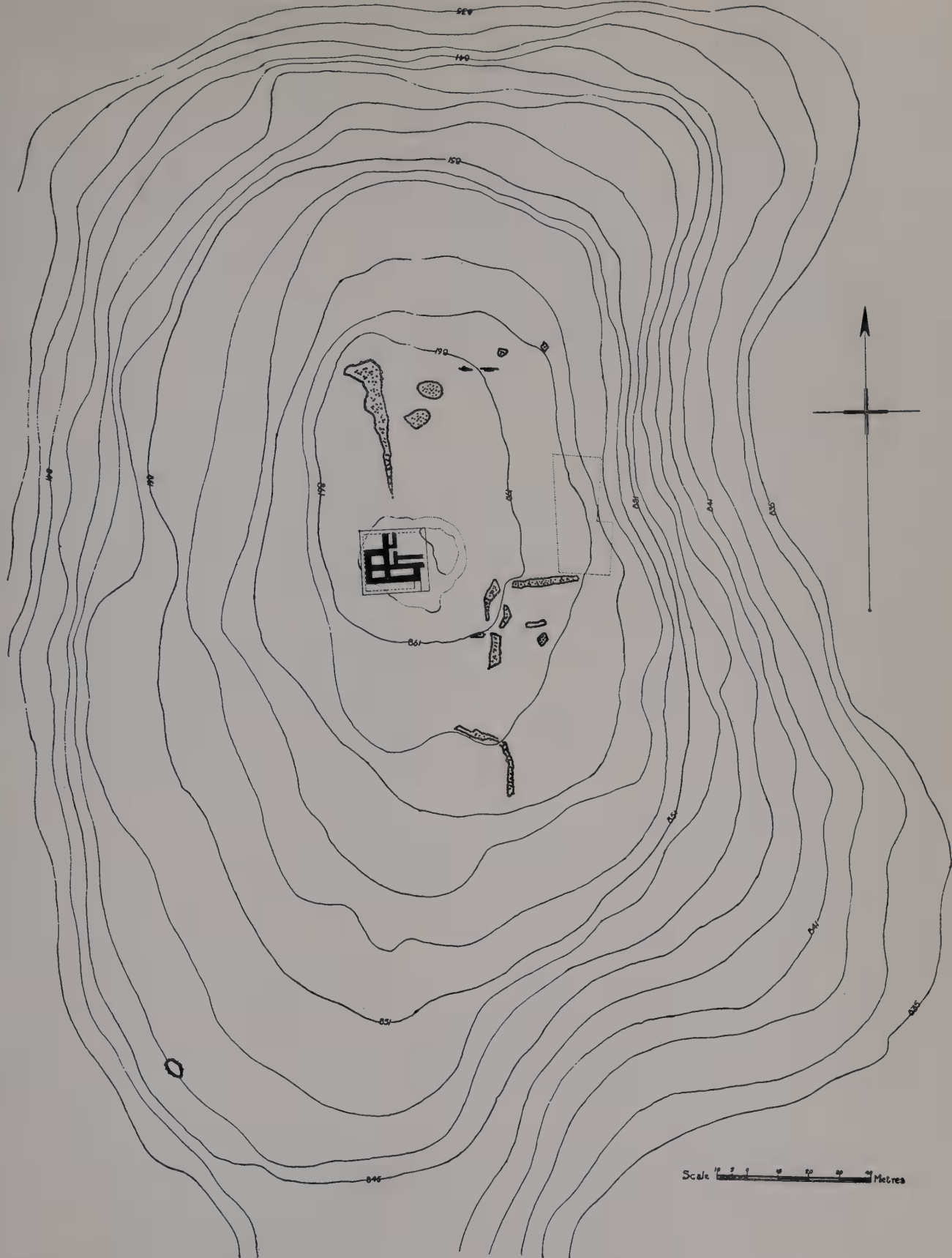
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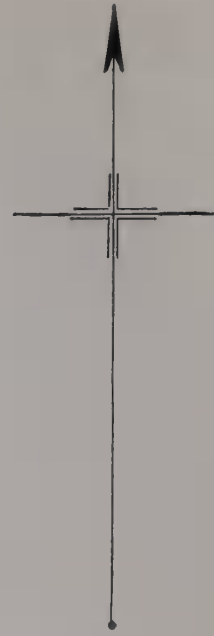


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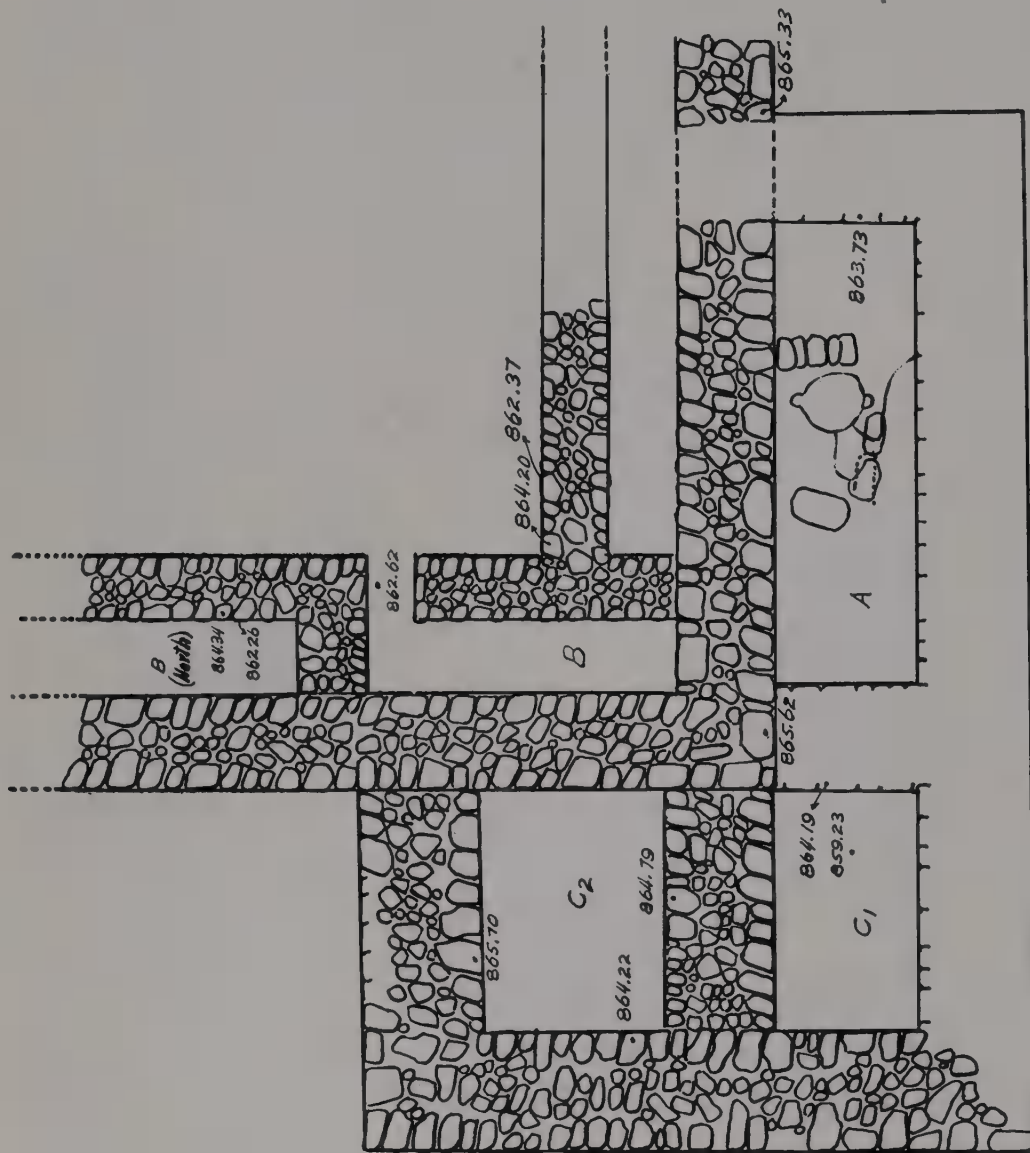
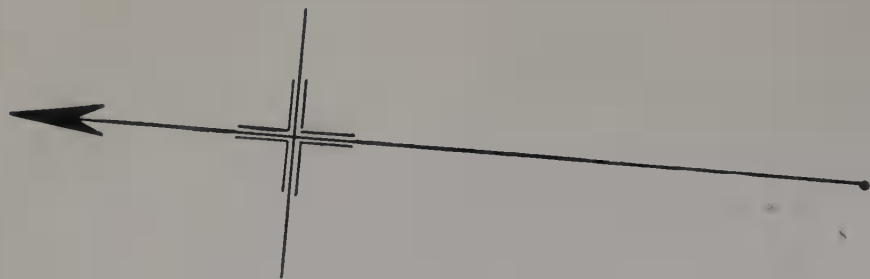








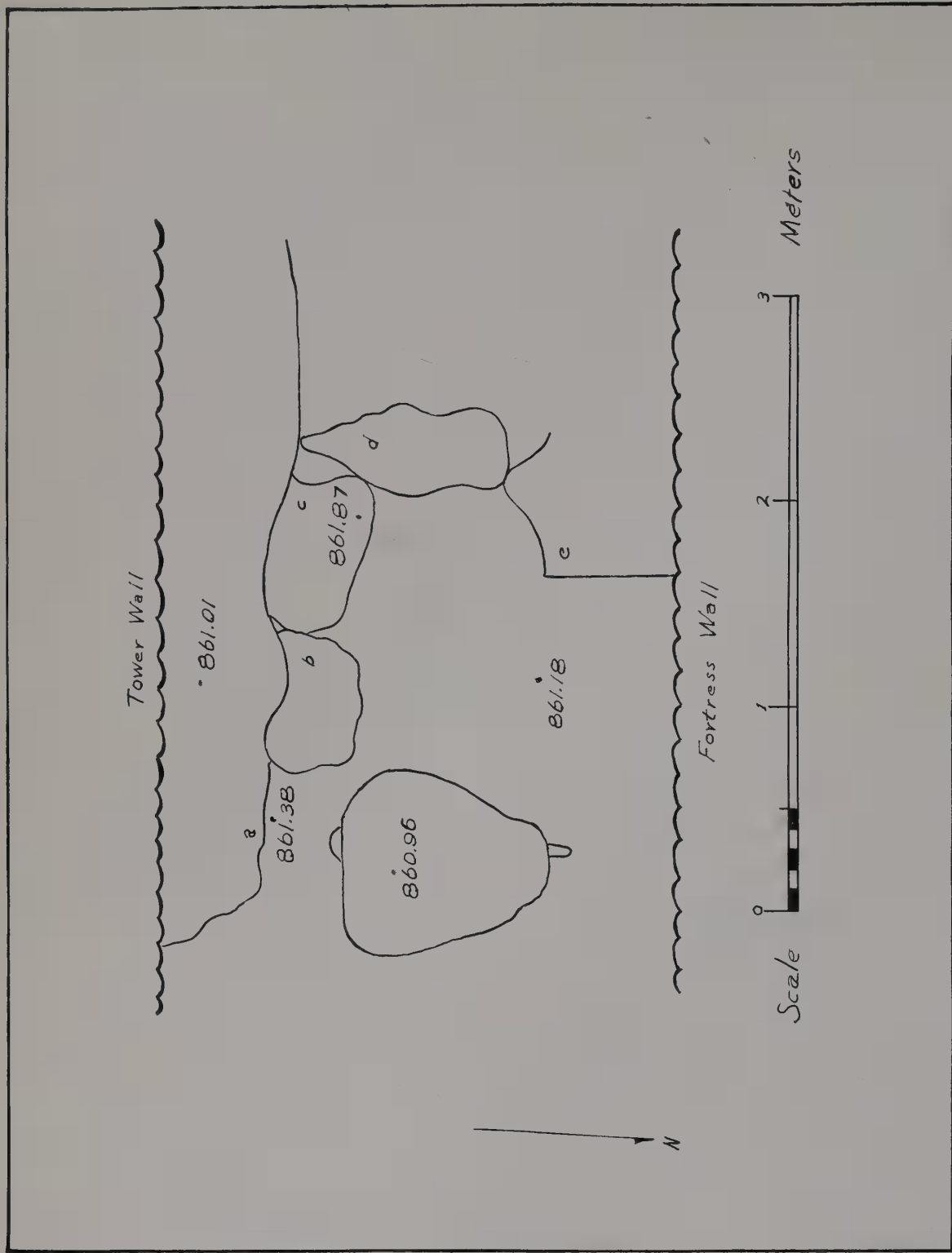
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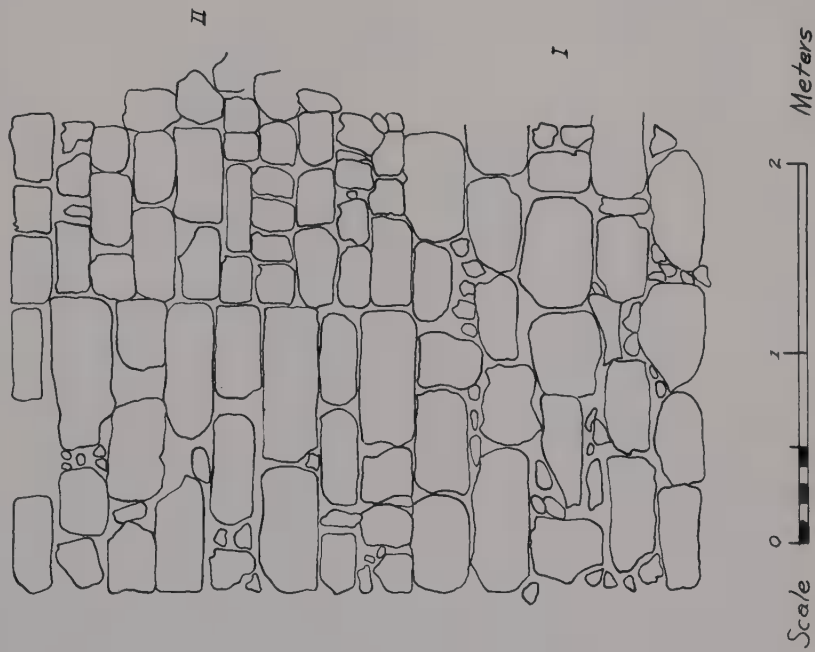


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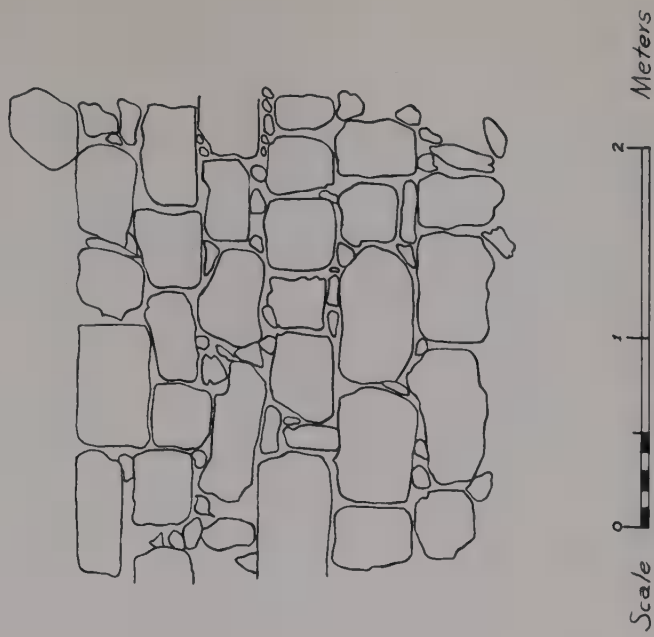






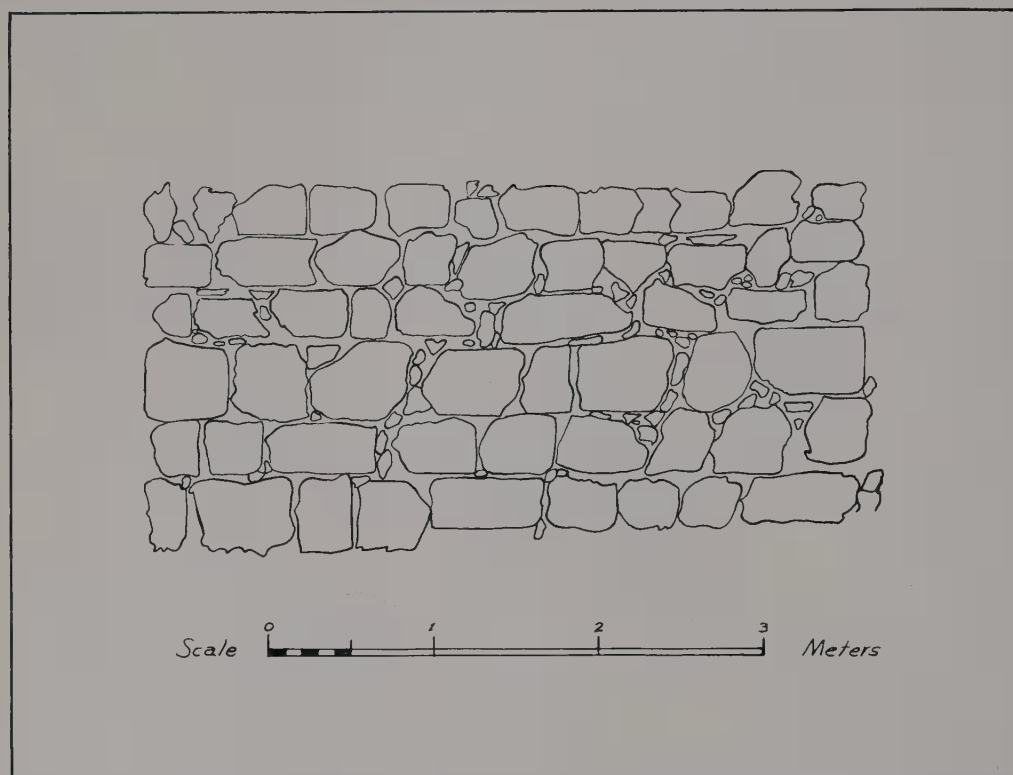
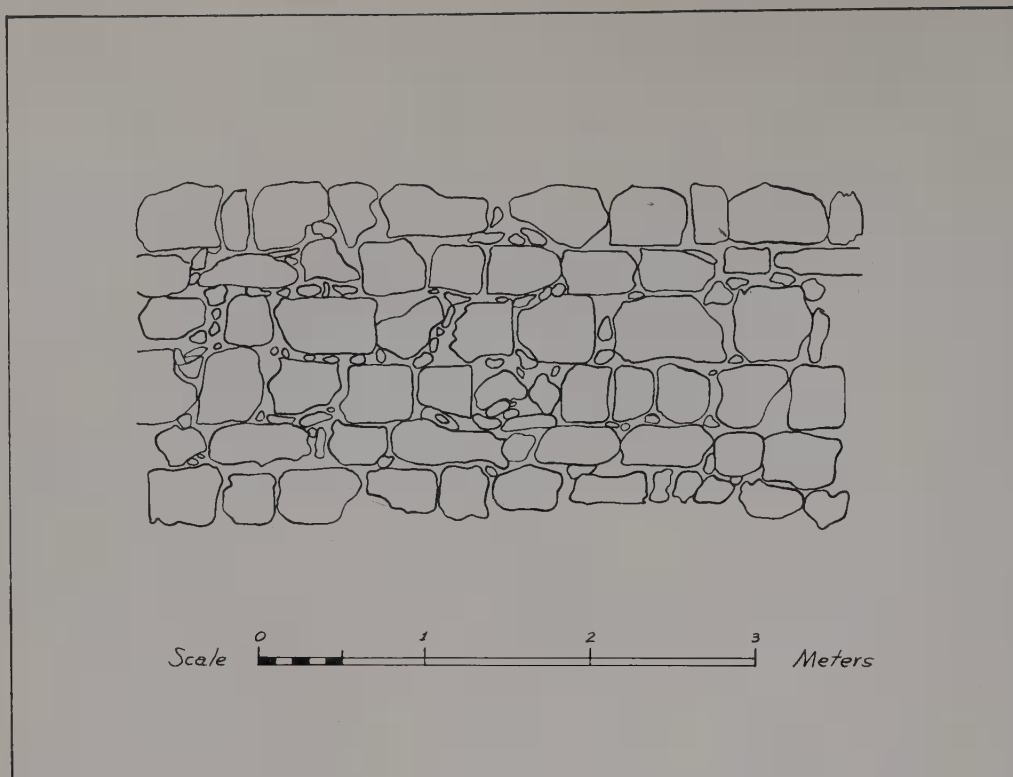


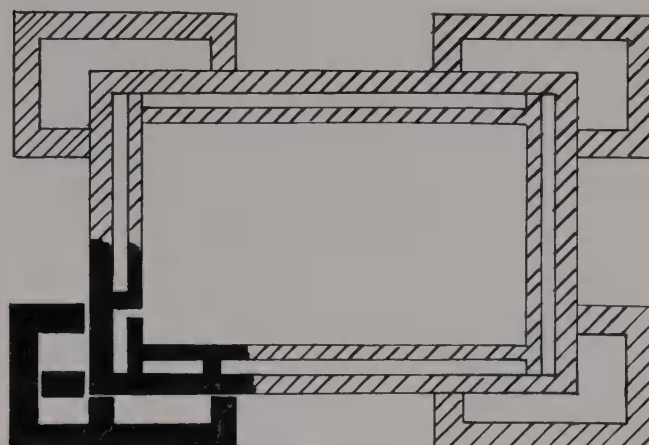
(A) Inside face of east wall of Room A (Fortresses I and II).



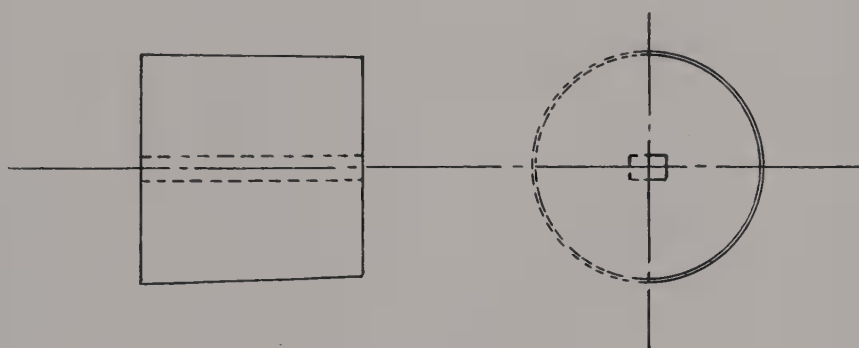
(B) Inside face of west wall of Room A (Fortress I).







METERS



Scale 0 10 20 cm.





PART II

THE EXCAVATION OF THE CONWAY HIGH  
PLACE (PETRA) AND SOUNDINGS  
AT KHIRBET ADER

RAY L. CLEVELAND



## TABLE OF CONTENTS (PART II)

	PAGE
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	56
CHAPTER I. The Conway High Place: Discovery, Excavation and Description .....	57
CHAPTER II. Pottery and Other Finds from the Conway High Place.....	64
CHAPTER III. The High Place in the Ancient Semitic World.....	75
CHAPTER IV. Khirbet Ader: Introduction.....	79
CHAPTER V. Soundings at Ader.....	84
CHAPTER VI. The Pottery from Ader.....	88
PLATES ..... following page	98



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAA</i>	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.</i>
<i>ANNUAL</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
<i>BMC</i>	George F. Hill, <i>Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia</i> [in the British Museum].
<i>Broneer</i>	Oscar Broneer, <i>Corinth</i> , Vol. IV, Part I, <i>The Terracotta Lamps.</i>
<i>Dussaud</i>	R. Dussaud, "Numismatique des rois de Nabatène," <i>Journal Asiatique</i> 10th series, Vol. III, pp. 189-238.
<i>PEFQS</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly.</i>
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
<i>TBM</i>	W. F. Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim.</i>

## CHAPTER I

### THE CONWAY HIGH PLACE: DISCOVERY, EXCAVATION, AND DESCRIPTION \*

#### Discovery

Although Petra had been known since 1812, when Burckhardt first viewed it, and although four major descriptive publications had appeared,<sup>1</sup> it was not until the spring of 1929 that any actual digging was done there. At that time, Mr. George Horsfield, Advisor to the Director of Antiquities in Transjordan, began a series of excavations with the assistance of Miss Agnes Conway (later Mrs. Horsfield).<sup>2</sup>

One of the discoveries made on this expedition was a massive circular retaining wall enclosing a large outcrop of rock on 'Arqûb el-Hîshah (also called 'Arqûb Abû 'Olleiqah, after the *wâdî* immediately to the west), a ridge lying mostly within the earlier city wall on the north (see Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Miss Conway, who first noticed this installation, called it a "Megalithic Circle" and published a photograph and a sketch of it (see Plate 2:A and Fig. 2), along with a brief description, the following year in the *Geographical Journal*:

It is 72 feet in diameter and stands outside the north wall of the later-built city on a rock whose highest point it encloses. The exterior of the wall was plastered with lime and the joints between the stones filled in and wedged with small ones. It has the appearance of typical Mediterranean bronze age masonry, not uncommon in other parts of Trans-Jordan, in watch towers and foundations of strong places. This was a retaining wall, a single stone thick, showing no sign of tooling, the inside filled to the peak of the rock with red sand. Beyond this

again on the face of the fall of the rock is cut a flight of steps. From it is obtained a view of the whole site of the city. This may have been a primitive sanctuary of the period before the revelation of Moses, when Edomites and Israelites followed the same religious traditions; a natural rock altar, enclosed by a wall because it was sacred.<sup>4</sup>

The very limited soundings carried out in 1929 failed to shed light on the curious installation, but because of the uniqueness of the structure and its masonry, interest in it did not lag. Plans for a more thorough investigation of the "Bronze Age Circle," as it was briefly designated, were laid in November, 1934. Mr. and Mrs. George Horsfield invited Professor W. F. Albright, Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, to direct the excavation under the auspices of the Melchett Expedition (formerly the Mond Expedition). The Melchett Fund was to bear most of the expense, while the American School was to supply the staff. The offer was accepted, and a permit to excavate, valid for the month of December, 1934, was obtained from the Director of Antiquities in Transjordan. Albright was authorized by the Melchett Expedition to publish a brief account of the excavation, which appeared in the first subsequent issue of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.<sup>5</sup> He there introduced the name "Conway High Place," by which the installation has since been known. The full report was intended for inclusion in the publication of the Melchett Expedition to Petra.<sup>6</sup> However, after the first three installments in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*,<sup>7</sup> the Horsfields' publication of the expe-

\* The author of these studies is greatly indebted to Professor W. F. Albright for his encouragement and invaluable advice in connection with the preparation of the excavation records for publication.

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Ernst Brünnow and Alfred v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Vol. I (Strassburg, 1904); Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, II (Vienna, 1907); Gustaf Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (Leipzig, 1908); Sir Alexander Kennedy, *Petra: Its History and Monuments* (London, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> George Horsfield and Agnes Conway, "Historical and Topographical Notes on Edom, With an Account of the First Excavations at Petra," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXVI, No. 5 (November, 1930), pp. 369-388.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 375 f.; Ditlef Nielsen, "The Mountain Sanctuaries in Petra and its Environs," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Horsfield and Conway *ad loc.*, and Plate 5, center (opposite p. 373) also Fig. 2, p. 375. At that time, the stone circle was tentatively assigned to the Edomite period, which has since been shown to be too early. One may also question whether there actually was lime plaster on the outside of the wall, since it does not appear in any of the available photographs.

<sup>5</sup> Albright, "The Excavation of the Conway High Place at Petra," *Bulletin* 57 (February, 1935), pp. 18-26.

<sup>6</sup> George and Agnes Horsfield, "Sela-Petra, the Rock, of Edom and Nabatene," *QDAP*, Vol. VII (1938), p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. VII (1938), p. 1-42; Vol. VIII, No. 3 (1938),

dition was interrupted, and the work undertaken by the American School at the Conway High Place has remained unpublished until the present time.

Mr. and Mrs. Horsfield began the season's work at Petra in the latter part of November, 1934. The American staff, including Professor Albright as Director, Dr. Immanuel Ben-Dor as archaeologist, Mr. Lester E. Williams as photographer, and Mr.

### Excavation

Work on the round masonry structure began on December third with seven workmen—although the maximum on subsequent days was to reach 45 men, mostly from the settled Liyāṭnah tribe, but with some nomadic Budūl. A trench, as much as a meter deep in places, was dug from the rock-cut approach on the southeast (which originally ap-

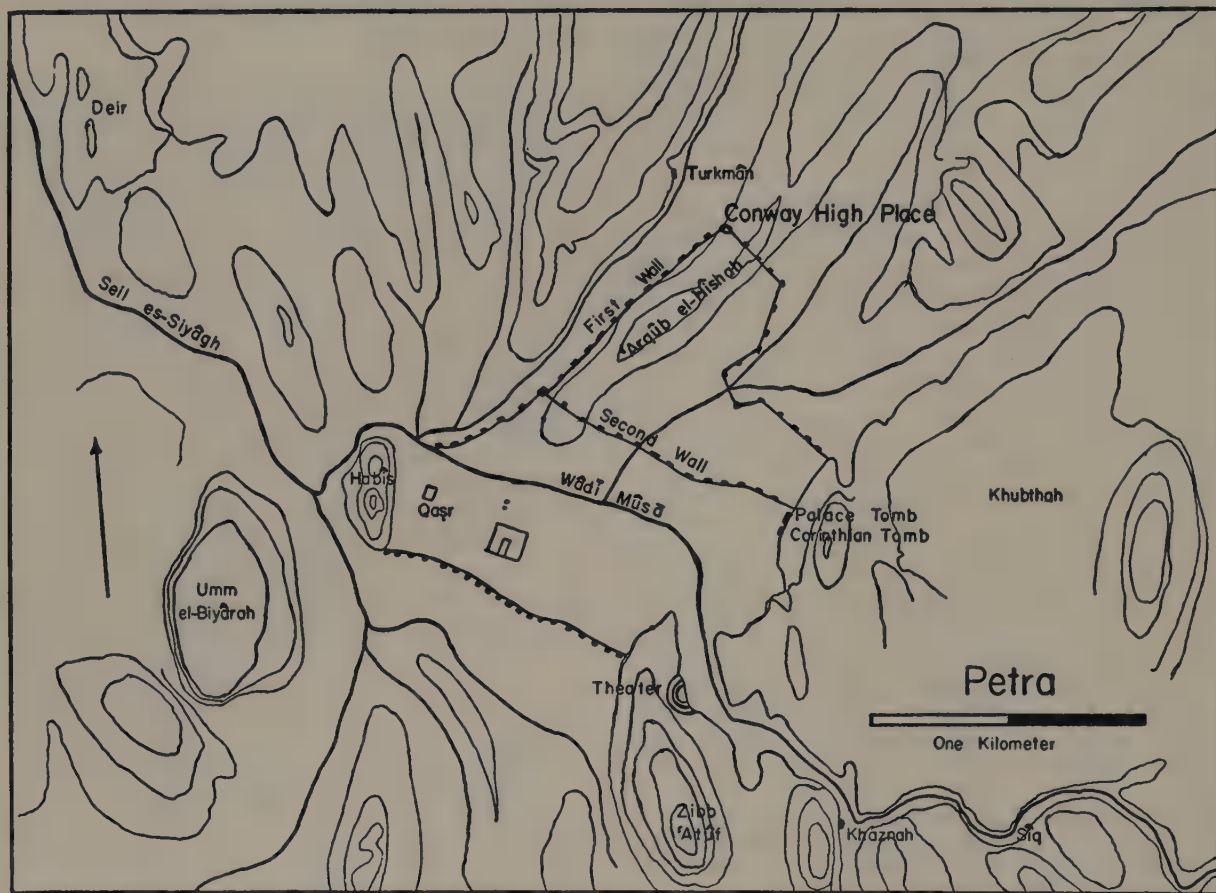


FIG. 1. Sketch plan of Petra, showing location of the Conway High Place. Based on plan by G. and A. Horsfield.

Murray M. Levine as architect-surveyor, arrived in Petra on the evening of December second. They were accompanied by nineteen visitors from Jerusalem and Beirut who spent several days inspecting the monuments of Petra. The four members of the regular staff lived at the Naṣṣār camp the eleven days they spent in the valley.<sup>8</sup>

pp. 87-115; Vol. IX, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 (1941), pp. 105-204.

<sup>8</sup> *Bulletin* 57, p. 19.

peared to be a door jamb) westward around the perimeter of the ring-wall to a point on the northwest. This partly exposed some 25 meters of the exterior face of the wall. The top of what seemed at first to be a pilaster base, but which was later interpreted as a pedestal for a statue, came to light on the southwest of the circle during this operation. The pedestal had been set against the outside of the ring-wall. All of the potsherds found the first day were Nabataean or later.



On the second day, a larger gang of workmen was set to removing earth on the southeast and northeast parts of the stone circle and later in the day to moving dirt from the western part. The area behind the pedestal and to the east of it was cleared nearly to bedrock, but the finds were disappointing: more Nabataean pottery, including two very small cooking pots complete enough to restore (Figs. 6:2; 7:1). These were inside the "gateway" (which was later found to be a shrine or sanctuary) in such a location that the pedestal must have been abandoned and covered at the time

pots in upright position were also found in this area (Figs. 6:4; 7:2).

The following day, 35 workmen continued digging in approximately the same areas. The trench west and northwest of the ring-wall was deepened; a much greater depth of earth was found here than had been expected. The clearing of the entire rock surface in front of the shrine (initially suspected of being a gateway) progressed, but was not completed. Removal of earth also began in most of the area around the central rock inside the stone circle, especially on the west side. A stairway was found leading down toward the west and northwest, partly constructed of masonry and partly hewn in the solid rock; it curved along the southwest and west of the central rock, but was not completely cleared until later.

In the rock-cut trench forming the staircase, three pots, all standing upright, were found buried in the dirt (see Plate 4; drawings of the pots are shown in Figs. 5:1; 6:1; 7:7). This brought the total number of pots found in an upright position to seven. Two of them from the staircase were only some 50 cms. below the surface and at a considerable height above the steps, so they could not have been placed upright in the earth before the staircase had been abandoned and well filled with dirt. Their upright positions could mean only that they had been deliberately buried, probably with some food offering.

Continued excavation of the shrine (in front of the platform and to the east of it) disclosed increasingly clear evidence of burning. Numerous squared stones on their sides in the ashy debris showed that some kind of masonry structure had stood around or near the shrine (see Plate 3:B).

With an increased labor force of 40, work was continued in three main areas on the fifth day. In the trench outside the ring-wall bedrock was reached on the northwest. In the wide trench at right angles to the shrine or sanctuary on the southwest additional signs of conflagration were found. The evidence brought to light led the excavator to conclude at first that the sanctuary had been destroyed in the second century A.D. Two more badly broken pots in upright positions turned up in the southwest stair shaft, both with fragments of potsherd covers in their debris (see Figs. 6:5; 7:3). One cover was a Nabataean painted bowl fragment of "late date," according to Horsfield. It was concluded that the pots might have been buried in the course of the third century, a

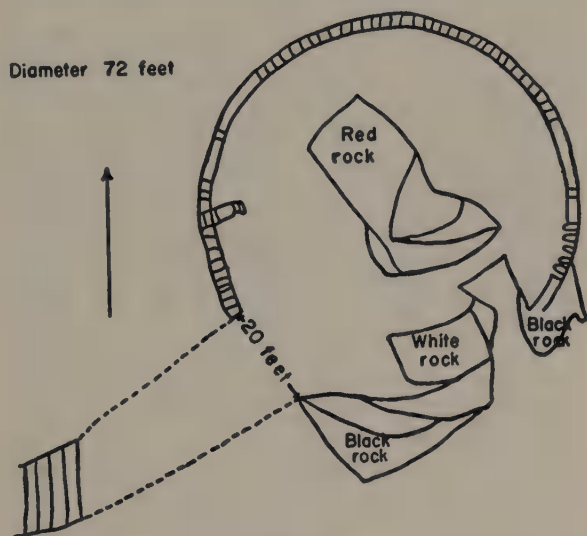


FIG. 2. Agnes Conway's sketch plan of "Megalithic Circle," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXVI, p. 375.

they were left there (see Fig. 3 for position of buried pots). A broken lamp top with a scene portraying a naked, kneeling woman bending forward on a bed with her hands on the sides of the bed was found on the northeast (being of doubtful provenience, this was given to Mrs. Horsfield).

The third day (December fifth), digging was continued north and west of the stone circle. The trench on the outside of the ring-wall was dug down to bedrock on the north and deepened on the northwest and west. Excavation was also extended westward outside the wall on the southwest. A podium or platform, on which an altar as well as the pedestal stood, was discovered in this area. Small finds consisted of a small gold leaf from east of the pedestal and an iron spike outside the ring-wall on the southwest. Two additional cooking

view which later study of the ceramics substantiated. Digging around the central rock inside the ring-wall continued until several layers had been removed all over the summit. A masonry staircase made its appearance on the east, which was later found to be part of a processional way.

Two more pots were found that afternoon; both were of much more delicate fabric and both had Hellenistic umbilical bases, i. e., they were definitely early Nabataean, not later than the early second century A. D. The first was found on its side in the stair shaft two meters north of the

average of 50 cm. over the entire area. The trench around the outside of the ring-wall was finished, and the clearing of the rock surface in front (southwest) of the platform was practically completed. Work was also continued in the curved shaft of the rock-cut stairway or stepped ramp at the south, which was cleared for three meters farther toward the west.

Two pots, both definitely of Nabataean type, not later than the first or second century A. D., were found during the morning. The first (Fig. 6:3) had Roman ribbing of a very early type; the other (Fig. 5:5) was not ribbed. Both were upright, one badly smashed and the other nearly complete. Each had been covered with a large fragment of a thin Nabataean bowl. The first was found on the bedrock in the stair, 2.20 m. from the base of the masonry steps, and 1.10 m. below the top edge of the rock surface on the side toward the central rock. The other was found about 20 cm. higher up in the debris, 2.10 m. farther on from the masonry steps, also at a distance of some 20 cm. from the northeast edge of the rock side of the trench. A third pot was discovered at noon over the southwest corner of the central rock, above what would have been an expected continuation of the stepped ramp (Fig. 5:2). This pot was of the same type and had a similar cover, but was turned over on its mouth. A fourth cooking pot, broken, of the same type, was also found on the northwest side of the central rock about 50 cm. below the surface of the soil. A large sherd of a thin Nabataean bowl, also upright, was found with the pot. Small finds for the day included coins and a lamp. Coins were found in the trench to the north of the ring-wall (two), and in the trench at the south (two). The lamp was found in the debris from the trench on the south.

During the two days, December ninth and tenth, 45 men were employed. A small section of a rock-cut, curved trench to the northeast of the sacred rock was found while the mass of stone filling south of the balustrade on this side was being cleared away. Most of the south edge of the rock-cut trench on the northeast was exposed during the excavation. Clearing of the pavements was continued and completed, and odd corners were cleared out. All the fill in the south rock-cut stairway was removed, and the area in front of the sanctuary platform was cleared. In the rock basin south-southeast of the northeast stepped ramp (see Plate 13:B) the workmen found two marble frag-

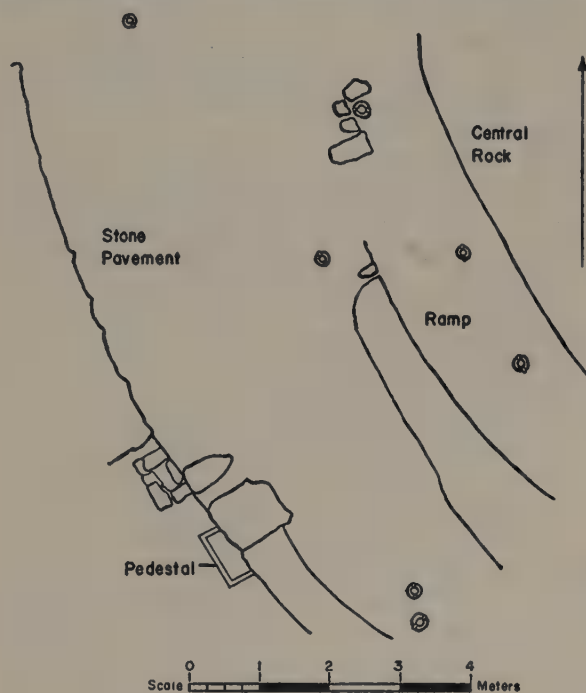


FIG. 3. Location of buried pots.

masonry steps (Fig. 5:3). A little later the second pot (Fig. 5:4) was found. near the first, but a little lower. Both were just above the rock, and it was recognized by the Director that they went back to a time before the abandonment of the shrine. The same day a small Nabataean coin was found at the bottom of the trench outside the ring on the west.

The next day was devoted in large part to the area north of the central rock. In spite of interruptions because of the repeated rains, considerable progress was made in clearing more of the curved stairway on the northeast; the level was lowered an

ments of tessellated pavement (triangular in section) of the first-second century A. D. (according to Horsfield) and fragments of a post-Christian Greek inscription, probably of the second or third century A. D., on a broken slab of marble. Byzantine sherds were also found in the same place. Coins were found at the northeast edge of the inside circle about 50 cm. below the surface, in the debris of the northeast ramp, in the debris on the north side (two), and in the debris of the upper pavement just north of the rock. A piece of faience came from the north trench under the lower filling. A complete little pottery bottle (Plate 17:A) was found under the stonework of the balustrade over the trench north of the rock.

December 11th was devoted to further clearance of the rock-cut trench north of the sacred rock. The original rock bottom at the lower end was reached. Time was also spent clearing away debris and tidying up for the final photographs. Nearly half a day on December 12th was given to analyzing details and finishing notes. Immediately after noon of that day, the expedition left the valley

### Plan and description

The general plan of the Conway High Place (Plate 1) shows both the location of the stone structures and the contours of the natural rock. The minus elevations represent meters below the highest point on the central rock (which bears no level number on the plan). The general plan is supplemented by photographs of many of the features, several from more than one angle (Plates 5 to 15). Nine photographs, taken in a complete circle from a central position on the sacred rock, form a continuous panorama (Plates 11 to 15:A, arranged counter-clockwise, beginning at the northwest).

A complete description of the Conway High Place can best begin at the wide, rock-cut steps to the west of the stone circle proper. These steps have an average width of about 4.25 m. The total rise of the seven steps is approximately 1.75 m. The rise of the individual steps varies from 15 cm. to 30 cm., with an average rise of ca. 25 cm. From the top of this flight of steps there is a slope of roughly 15° downward in the direction of the sanctuary platform. In approaching the platform, an outcropping of rock, which rises higher than a man's head, will be noticed on the right (this

area is pictured on Plate 6:A, viewed from the east; the higher rock is on the left, and the steps are out of view beyond the cleared area in the center). The top of the platform is nearly two meters above the bottom of the depression in the bedrock in front of it, and it is quite possible that there was a dirt fill in this area at the time the platform was in use. This fill would have been level at least with the top step to the west, if not higher than it.

The platform itself is made of squared stones and slabs, apparently varying in thickness according to the slope of the bedrock on which they rest (Plate 5:B). The maximum depth of the platform is slightly over 1.5 m. Its depth at the south-east end is only 1.25 m. It is 4.5 m. wide. The well cut pedestal stands at approximately an equal

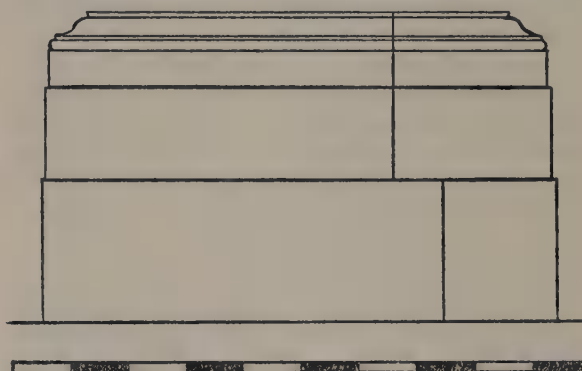


FIG. 4. Front view of pedestal.

distance from either end of the platform, with its back against the ring-wall. It is made of four stones laid in two courses (Fig. 4). The lower course is 25 cm. high and the upper is 29 cm. high, giving the pedestal an over-all height of 54 cm. In the lower course the stone on the viewer's left is the larger, with a length of 70 cm. It is supplemented by a stone of 20 cm. length to give the pedestal a total width of 90 cm., which is about twice its depth. The upper course is slightly recessed, so that its greatest width is 88 cm. The two stones in this course are 60 cm. (left) and 28 cm. (right). The joint between them is 10 cm. to the left of the joint in the lower course. After a rise of 26 cm. from the lower setback, there is a second setback, also of about 1 cm. on each side. Six cm. higher the graceful molding begins; it is nearly 7 cm. thick. Listed from bottom to top, its features are an astragal, a narrow fillet, a cyma



recta, and another narrow fillet which slants outward slightly toward the top.

At the northwest end of the platform stands a more crudely built pedestal or altar. Its joints are not all vertical, since some of the blocks from which it is constructed are irregular. This altar (or possible pedestal), like the better made pedestal, has two courses of stone. It has vertical sides and stands on a rough, flaring base which is flush with the side of the platform. As the general plan (Plate 1) shows, it is deeper than the pedestal, and its face is not parallel with the front edge of the platform on which it stands. This altar (or pedestal) is set back nearly a meter from the front of the platform.

The ring-wall rises a little more than a meter above the top of the platform, but ends behind the central pedestal. Behind the southeast half of the platform no regular masonry was found, but a row of stones in mixed debris were found in line with the ring-wall (shown as widely spaced stones on the general plan). This row of stones runs eastward up toward the high rock (level -1, 50). Plate 12:A shows the preserved end of the ring-wall (right), behind which the pedestal is concealed in the photograph. (See also Plate 6:A for the row of stones in the debris.)

The most impressive features of the Conway High Place are, of course, the great ring-wall and the stone pavements (which formed an ambulatory around the sacred rock). The ring-wall, beginning at the platform on the southwest and running in a three-quarter circle around the west, north, and east sides of the sacred rock, has an average diameter of more than 24 m. and a circumference of more than 50 m. In some places it was found preserved to a height of several meters. Its construction was of uneven courses of large, uncut stones with small stones in the interstices (see Plate 10). Some of the stones were roughly square, but others were quite irregular in shape. The largest of them were a full meter in length.

Remains of pavements at two levels were discovered, one above the other. The earlier pavement was found well preserved on the three sides where it had once existed, though incomplete on the east and southeast. The later pavement, which was not so carefully laid, was found preserved only for a maximum distance of about 12 m. on the west side of the central rock. It had been laid some 75 cm. above the surface of the earlier pavement (see Plate 9). The interval of time between the

laying of the two pavements could not be determined. Some of the stones used in the pavements were as large as those used in the ring-wall, but most of them were smaller. The pavement was not uniformly even everywhere. On the northeast (Plate 8:B), for instance, the stones were more uneven than on the northwest (Plate 9:A).

The ambulatory or processional way was nearly level around most of its course, but east of the sacred rock were two steps of ashlar masonry (Plate 7:B). In their preserved state, they extended from the inner edge of the pavement out to about the middle of it, although they had once probably reached completely across the processional way. The rise of the upper step was between 35 cm. and 40 cm., and the rise of the lower step was approximately the same. In the case of both steps, two long, squared blocks form the front edges. Both steps also slope downward slightly toward the north.

In connection with the processional way, there is another feature which calls for special attention. This is a low wall, running some 11 m. along the inside edge of the stone pavement on the northeast of the central rock; this we are designating as a retaining wall (it is visible on Plate 8:B on the near side of the pavement). While its inner edge is quite uneven, the stones are in straight alignment on the outside, against which the pavement now abuts. There is a line of stones similar to this, but shorter, northwest of the central rock (the large rocks in the left center of Plate 11:A belong to this line of stones). Since these are inside the line of the edge of the pavement and are not laid in courses even with it, it is certainly not a part of the pavements, which it must antedate.

Southeast of the great circle is a sloping, rock-cut ramp with two steps, leading directly up toward the central rock (see Plate 8:A; the photograph shows rock debris, which was removed before the general plan was made, between the two steps). The lower step was a little more than two meters wide, with a rise of 45 cm., while the upper step was a little less than two meters wide with a rise of 35 cm. Although this ramp was certainly designed as a formal approach to the sacred rock, its exact course becomes obscure above the upper step. The pathway runs up to a point just east of the hollow in the rock visible in the top center of the photograph in Plate 13:A. The line of the ramp is also partly blocked by a large, irregular depression in the bedrock.

From the south side of the central rock around to the west side runs a curved ramp<sup>9</sup> with four steps descending into a trench cut in the solid rock. It begins near the higher end of the southeast stepped ramp and runs 4.5 m. directly west with a slight fall to the top of the first step, which has a rise of 60 m. (see Plate 13:A). There is a fall of 25 cm. in the five-meter interval between the first and second steps (see Plate 12:B).<sup>10</sup> The second rock-cut step (Plate 6:B) is quite high, approximately 90 cm. The masonry steps (shown on the general plan, Plate 1) had been built over it at a later time. The top of the third step, a bare two meters from the second, was somewhat concave; this step had a rise of about 40 cm. The fourth step lay 5 m. north of the third. The fall in the level of the ramp in this distance is 40 cm. The rise of the fourth and last step is 35 cm. The ramp beyond this point runs up to a blank rock face. The line of stones mentioned above as part of a retaining wall blocks the left of the ramp-trench.

On the northeast side of the central rock is a cut (Plate 7:A) which is quite similar to the southwest rock-cut ramp. It is more than likely that this was at one time a counterpart to the other. Since the removal of much of the retaining wall and pavement on the northeast would have been necessary to determine the features of this earlier cut, it was not thoroughly investigated.

## History

The long history of the Conway High Place is nearly as obscure in detail as its construction is complicated. The major phases, however, are fairly clear. The earliest features preserved are the rock-cut, stepped ramps. That this is true is shown by the fact that all other construction of which any trace remains encroaches on these ramps and is therefore later. As originally suggested by the excavator,<sup>11</sup> there was probably a processional way (of which no trace was discovered during the excavation) and ring-wall contemporary with the ramps or earlier than them. This is not confirmed by material evidence, so it may possibly be that the

descending ramps were used before any formal circular ambulatory was constructed.

After a long period of use, the southwestern curving ramp was partly filled in, and masonry steps, two of which were found in the excavation, were built on the fill. Since the stone pavement interfered with complete clearing of the northeastern curving ramp, it is not known whether there was similar reconstruction in that trench or not.

The inner circular retaining wall on the northeast and the short section of one on the northwest were built after the ramps had gone out of use and the trenches had been filled with debris. Their design indicates that they formed some sort of balustrade at the inner edge of a processional way which was below the lower of the two stone pavements which have been described. When the stone pavement shown on the general plan (Plate 1) was built, its surface was leveled with the top of the retaining wall or balustrade. How long the lower pavement was in use before the laying of the upper pavement could not be ascertained. They both seem to belong to the first century A.D., though the upper could be slightly later.<sup>12</sup>

The shrine at the southwest of the ring-wall most probably belongs to the period of the lower pavement. It continued in use after the processional way had passed out of use and offering pots were being buried in the earth covering the pavements. The quantity of fallen masonry found in the debris around the shrine indicates that this sanctuary had at one time been protected by walls. The final destruction and burning of the high place took place in the third (or possibly early fourth) century, and it then ceased to be a place for offering or worship.

<sup>12</sup> Excavation of parts of the earlier city wall of Petra, conducted by the Horsfields subsequently to the work on the Conway High Place, brought to light more evidence. The stonework outside the ring-wall on the west side (just 6 meters north of the shrine platform; see general plan, Plate 1) is actually part of the earlier city wall, which included much more area than the later city wall. Aside from a photograph (see Pl. 15:B) and the brief statement that the "circle . . . constituted, at least in one phase in the development of the town wall, a strong circular angle tower," nothing has been published regarding these later results. See *QDAP*, Vol. VII, p. 7, and Plate XIV, below. More information would be of help in determining the date of the ring-wall relative to the date of the west city wall. For plan of Petra, its walls, and the Conway High Place, see our Fig. 1 (based on the Horsfields' plans).

<sup>9</sup> This rock-cutting was originally designed as a stairway, but "stepped ramp" has been substituted as being more descriptive.

<sup>10</sup> The original drawing of the general plan had -2, 70 indicated as the level at the top of the second step. This could hardly be correct, and it has been assumed that -1, 70 was intended.

<sup>11</sup> *Bulletin* 57, p. 22.



## CHAPTER II

### POTTERY AND OTHER FINDS FROM THE CONWAY HIGH PLACE

The pottery from the Conway High Place included in this study is almost exclusively Roman-Nabataean, i.e., from the period following the Roman conquest of Petra in A.D. 106. A few of the cooking pots, on the other hand, may possibly come from the first century of this era, but this is not likely. Otherwise there are, as possible exceptions, only a few sherds of painted Nabataean ware (drawing in Fig. 7:8 and photograph on Plate 17:D), a lamp, and a lamp fragment (photograph, Plate 18:A), which likewise may be pre-Roman (as far as Nabatene is concerned). Aside from Roman-Nabataean cooking pots, there are in this collection three shallow bowls (drawing, Fig. 7:3-5 [No. 6 is from Ader]), a small pottery bottle (photograph, Plate 17:A), and a few ribbed sherds from cooking pots (Plates 17:C).

As no closely dated Roman-Nabataean ware has yet been published, the dating of this pottery depends, for the most part, on rough parallels with related wares from other parts of Palestine. Recent publications make this task less formidable than it was twenty-five years ago when these pieces were unearthed. On the other hand, it must be admitted that no exact parallels outside Petra are known. As a result of this situation, the individual pots cannot be assigned precise dates, and future publication will make a restudy of this pottery necessary.

#### Cooking pots

All examples of cooking pots from the Conway High Place are of uniform ware unless specifically noted in the description: thin (though not as thin as Nabataean plates), well levigated, and of the pinkish-coral color which can best be designated as Nabataean-red. These characteristics, however, are not sufficient to distinguish the pots chronologically from earlier and later types. The features employed for this purpose are ribbing and form (angle and shape of neck, shape of body, and type and placement of handles). The criteria advanced by Murray and Ellis<sup>1</sup> have been generally fol-

lowed: the inward-slanting neck tends to indicate a later date than a vertical or outward-slanting neck,<sup>2</sup> and the ribbing became progressively closer and deeper. A third important criterion which differentiates the Petra examples from earlier Roman pots may now be introduced: pots with extremely wide mouths and virtually no shoulder are later than those with narrower mouths and broad shoulders.<sup>3</sup> This does not aid materially in assigning absolute dates, so other points of reference must be investigated for that purpose.<sup>4</sup>

Cave, found in the hearth, was of the type shown in Plate IX:25 (see p. 4). It had an inward-slanting neck, narrow ribbing, and slightly elongated body. Its very narrow ribbing seems to indicate a date later than the date of any of the pots from the Conway High Place. Its handles are ovoid in form and further differentiate it.

<sup>2</sup> This criterion is partly confirmed by a Hellenistic cooking pot found in a cistern at Beth-zur during the 1957 campaign; see Paul and Nancy Lapp, "A Comparative Study of a Hellenistic Pottery Group from Beth-zur," *Bulletin* 151, pp. 19 f., Fig. 1:2 (photograph) and Fig. 2:2 (drawing). As in the pots from Samaria and elsewhere, the Beth-zur example has the handles attached well upon the shoulder; it is only later, on pots that have no pronounced shoulder, that the handle is attached on the side of the body. This is standard in Byzantine cooking pots.

The comparison the Lapps make between this Beth-zur cooking pot and one from Trench A at Khirbet Qumrân (R. de Vaux, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne," *RB*, Vol. 61 [April, 1954], p. 219, Fig. 2:23) is not completely convincing, since the drawing of the latter exhibits a much thicker body with a shorter neck which meets the body of the pot in a gentle curve rather than at a sharp angle. The Beth-zur pot has more in common with the Qumrân piece shown on p. 221, Fig. 3:22. The Beth-zur example should not be pushed further back than about 100 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The Qumran cooking pots, being closely dated, are significant in this respect. They all have narrow mouths, and this evidence indicates that the pots with small mouths held the field through most of the first century A.D. and possibly into the second. See *RB*, Vol. 61 (1954), p. 219, Fig. 2:23; p. 221, Fig. 3:22; p. 223, Fig. 4:15; *RB*, Vol. 63 (1956), p. 553, Fig. 1:16; p. 557, Fig. 3:5,9. Wide-mouthed Byzantine pots (see below, note 21) stand at the other end of the development and demonstrate that the width of the mouth has chronological significance.

<sup>4</sup> The discussion of cooking pots published by P. Kahane ("Pottery Types from the Jewish Ossuary-

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Murray and J. C. Ellis, *A Street in Petra* (London, 1940), p. 19. The latest pot from the North



Three cooking pots from a Roman tomb on Jebel Jôfeh in 'Ammân, excavated by G. L. Harding, have the most striking similarities to those from the Conway High Place and other Petra examples.<sup>5</sup> The handles and rims furnish almost exact parallels, especially Jebel Jôfeh nos. 105 and 12. The three Jebel Jôfeh pots also tend to be slightly elongated, like at least two of the Conway High Place pots (Fig. 6:4, 5), both of which are cruder than average and not entirely ribbed. The coins from the Roman tomb on Jebel Jôfeh were mostly from the second half of the third century A. D., and none was later. It is safe to say then that the three cooking pots found in the tomb were almost certainly not made later than the end of the third century. While the latest Conway High Place pots could possibly be contemporary with the Jebel Jôfeh Roman ware, the closer ribbing of the latter suggests a slightly earlier date for the former, perhaps in the first half of the third century for the latest of them.

The stratified groups of Roman cooking pots from Samaria<sup>6</sup> are further removed from types found at Petra, but are nevertheless quite instructive. The relevant groups from Samaria are Roman 1a, which is dated to the last decade of the first century B. C. and the first two decades of the first century A. D.,<sup>7</sup> Roman 2a, which is "not much later" than Roman 1a, Roman 3a, which is probably third century, and Roman 4, which is difficult to date except by mosaics which "suggest and early fourth century date."<sup>8</sup>

The Samaria groups provide parallels in ribbing and general form,<sup>9</sup> but details of the handles, necks, and bodies are different. It is surprising that the Samaria example which most nearly parallels the Petra pots belongs to Roman 1a, which the excavators date near the beginning of the first century A. D.<sup>10</sup> Even in this case, however, the

neck tends to follow the curve of the body and slants outward, while the pots from the Conway High Place nearly all have necks which very definitely slant inward. The other Roman cooking pots from Samaria (belonging to groups Roman 2a, 3a, and 4) have bodies which become progressively less similar, i. e., less rounded and with sharper bends near the bottom and with a suggestion of carination on the sides. Inward-slanting necks do occur in Roman 3a<sup>11</sup> and Roman 4.<sup>12</sup>

The rim and handle sherd of a cooking pot from the 1951 excavation at Herodian Jericho<sup>13</sup> is definitely earlier in type than the examples from the Conway High Place, as both typological and contextual considerations indicate. The well made handle is of more uniform width and is wider; the neck is vertical and the opening narrower; the ribbing is apparently very shallow. None of the context is later than the early first century A. D.

Fragments of at least twenty-one Nabataean cooking pots were found at Sbeita by the Colt expedition, which dug there in October, 1935.<sup>14</sup> The one example published<sup>15</sup> seems very similar to those from the Conway High Place, but the angle and width of the neck suggest that it is somewhat earlier. The excavators reported that there was no clear stratigraphy in the area where they worked, so their results do not contribute materially toward the chronology of Nabataean pottery.<sup>16</sup>

A bulging cooking pot from Tomb 8 at Jerash<sup>17</sup> approaches the form of Petra examples under dis-

from Samaria was of necessity dated typologically and not stratigraphically. Since the typology is not entirely clear, modifications in dating are only to be expected as more evidence is found.

<sup>11</sup> *Samaria-Sebaste III*, Fig. 71:7 (p. 303).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 72:9 (p. 305).

<sup>13</sup> James B. Pritchard, *The Excavation at Herodian Jericho, 1951*, ANNUAL XXXII-XXXIII, pp. 22, 51; Plates 42:10; 59:1. The cooking pot from the 1950 campaign at Herodian Jericho (Kelso and Baramki, ANNUAL XXIX-XXX, Plate 23:A173) to which this one is compared has outward slanting neck and is more like one of the Roman 1a pots from Sebaste (*Samaria-Sebaste III*, Fig. 69:8 [p. 299]).

<sup>14</sup> Grace M. Crowfoot, "The Nabataean Ware of Sbeitā," *PEFQS*, 1936, pp. 14, 23.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate IV:8; p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> A first-century date for the pot in question is very likely; cf. ANNUAL XXXII-XXXIII, Pl. 59:1.

<sup>17</sup> C. S. Fisher, "Tombs," *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938), Fig. 41, bottom center (p. 563).

Tombs Round Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal*, Vol. 2 [1952], pp. 128-131) is much too general to be of use for purposes of dating specific pieces.

<sup>5</sup> G. L. Harding, "A Roman Family Vault on Jebel Jofeh, 'Ammân," *QDAP*, Vol. XIV (1950), Plate XXVI: 9, 105 and 12.

<sup>6</sup> J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot and Kathleen M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria (Samaria-Sebaste III)*, pp. 288-306.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 69:9 (p. 299); Fig. 70:9 (p. 301); Fig. 71:5 (p. 303); and Fig. 72:9 (p. 305).

<sup>10</sup> It must be pointed out that the Roman pottery

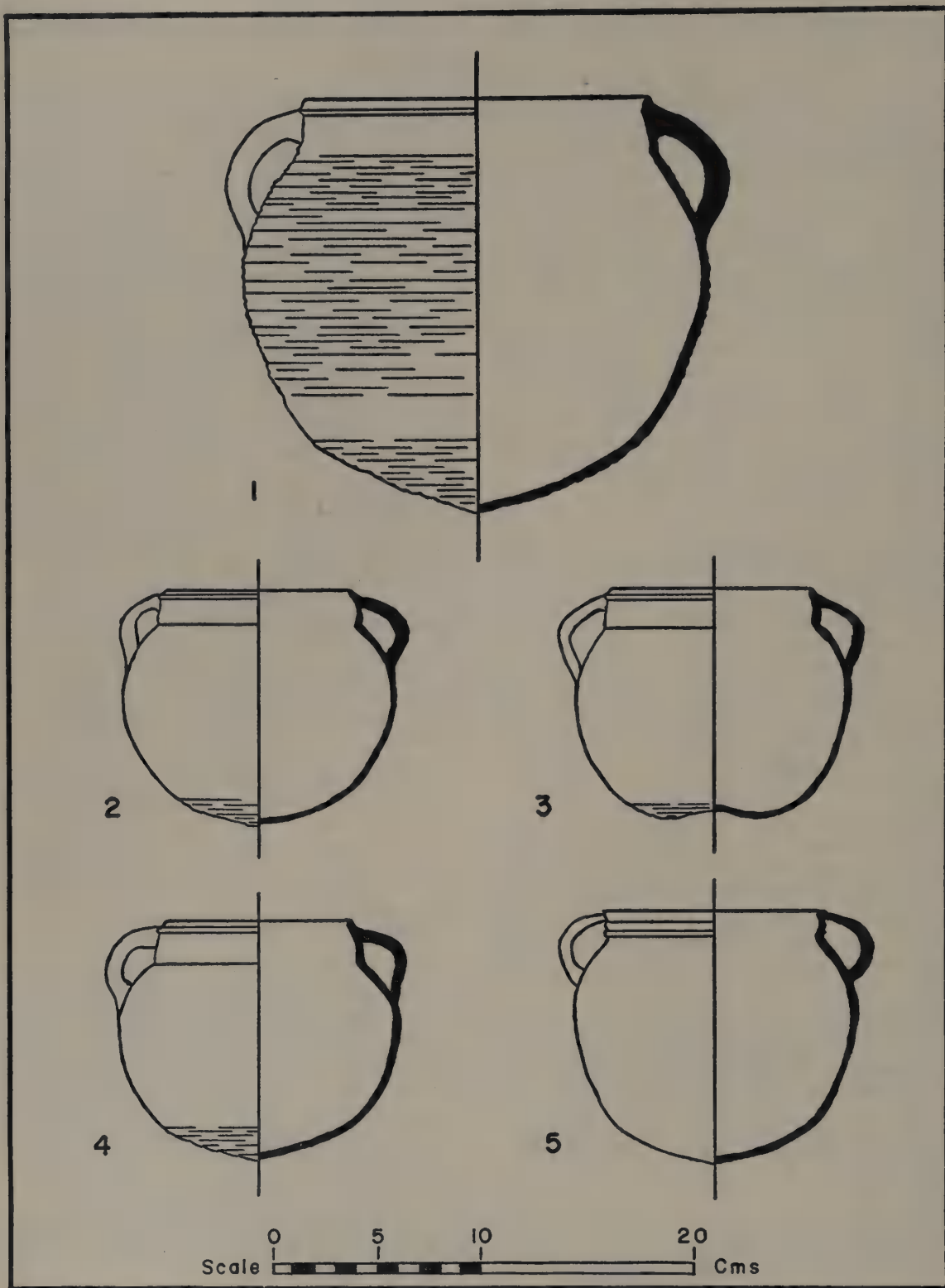


FIG. 5.

cussion. The neck is small in comparison to the diameter of the body of the pot, as in the case of the sherd from the 1951 campaign at Herodian Jericho. There is no flange on the outside of the rim (cf. Fig. 6:4) and the neck is just beginning to slant inward. This tomb group apparently comes from the first century A. D., as two coins suggest.<sup>18</sup>

The Harvard expedition to Samaria found quantities of complete Hellenistic pots in 1909 and 1910. One interesting cooking pot,<sup>19</sup> very thick in cross-section, seems to have clear affinities with Nabataean types. It cannot, however, be dated by context at all.

A Roman cooking pot from Tell en-Naşbeh<sup>20</sup> provides an approximate parallel in form with several Petra pots, especially with the one in Fig. 7:1 (except for incomplete ribbing, which is not necessarily of great significance). While the Tell en-Naşbeh pot is almost identical in shape of the body and handles and has a fairly wide mouth, its description is not complete and no indication of its context is given.

A Roman-Byzantine tomb, excavated in 1949 by Sellers and Baramki, at Silet edh-Dhahr between Nablus and Jenîn, yielded one large cooking pot<sup>21</sup> which is strikingly similar to the large cooking pot from the Conway High Place shown in Fig. 6:1. The very short neck of the tomb example is the most obvious difference as far as form is concerned, but the handles are also different, their tops being flat and level. This pot came from Chamber A,

which the excavators believe was probably dug in the first century A. D., although not all of the pottery found in it was placed there that early.<sup>22</sup> Since the bulk of the pottery found in the entire burial cave came from the fourth-sixth centuries, it seems that the cooking pot in question may be placed in about the third century, i. e., about the same time as the Petra pot in Fig. 6:1.

The contrast between the third-century cooking pots from Jebel Jôfeh and those of approximately the same date from Samaria (Roman 3a) and other sites in Palestine proper may indicate that a slightly different ceramic tradition developed in Transjordan. In Transjordan, cooking pots kept rounded bodies, though they were somewhat elongated in Late Roman times, and they evolved external ridges on the rim. The slightly differing traditions are not surprising, since the Nabataean potters, although strongly influenced by Roman styles, seem to have maintained their identity. Thus there did exist a fairly distinct Roman-Nabataean series of pottery, and these are unfortunately not yet fully understood because of the paucity of material from stratified Nabataean sites.

### Fig. 5

1. Found inside stone circle on southwest (Dec. 6). Well levigated; baked through. Second or third century.
2. Above stepped ramp near southwest corner of central rock (Dec. 8). Surface pinkish-buff; reddish-brown section; baked through; very well levigated; slight ribbing below; handles uneven. First or second century A. D. Photographed, Plate 16:B, left.
3. On its side one meter below top of rock in southwestern rock-cut trench, two meters from lower end of masonry steps (Dec. 7). Light reddish-brown surface; reddish-brown section; well baked and levigated; slightly ribbed at bottom. Second century.
4. Near no. 3 above. Reddish-brown, made lighter by lime accretion; well baked and levigated; slightly ribbed at bottom. Second century.
5. In ramp-trench (Dec. 8). Reddish-buff ware. First or second century. Photographed, Plate 16:B right.

### Fig. 6

1. Inside stone circle on southwest (Dec. 6). Reddish-brown core; well levigated; thin creamy (lime) slip outside and inside. Probably early third century. Photographed, Plate 16:A.
2. On pavement behind shrine (Dec. 4). Red ware; well levigated; light red surface. About second century.
3. In ramp-trench (Dec. 8). Well levigated; red ware; light red surface. Sharp ribbing, widening below.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 562, 564.

<sup>19</sup> George Andrew Reisner, *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910* (Cambridge, 1924), Vol. I, Fig. 176, upper left (p. 299). The thickness of the body has apparently been exaggerated in the drawing, since all the other characteristics belong to a type which is much thinner.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Carson Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, Vol. II, *The Pottery* (New Haven, 1947), Plate 50, second from bottom on right (no. 1070); pp. 30, 96. A pot found in a fourth-century tomb at 'Ain Yabrûd is cited on p. 96 (S. A. S. Husseini, "A Rock-Cut Tomb-Chamber at 'Ain Yabrûd," *QDAP*, Vol. VI, No. 1 [1936], Plate IV:19), although the form is actually quite different, with flat bottom, narrow mouth, and large handles. Other comparisons cited there are scarcely less remote. The pot in question probably belongs to the first or second century A. D.

<sup>21</sup> O. R. Sellers and D. C. Baramki, *A Roman-Byzantine Burial Cave in Northern Palestine*, in *Bulletin, Supplementary Studies* 15-16 (1953), Fig. 8 (p. 10), second from right; Fig. 32:6 (p. 30); a description is on p. 20, top.



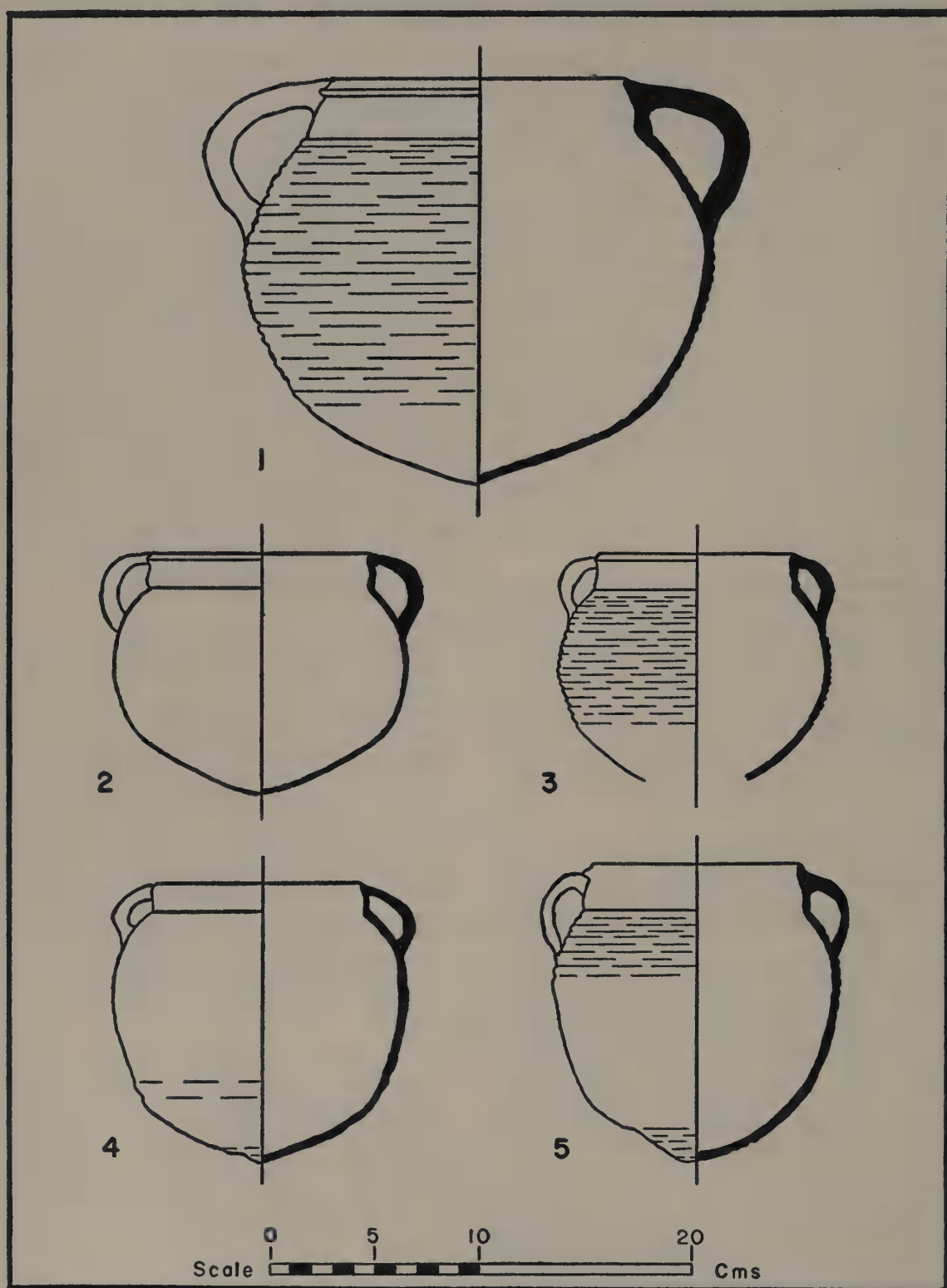


FIG. 6.

About early second century. Photographed, Plate 16:D.

4. Under the surface on the southwest (Dec. 5). Red ware, well levigated; reddish-buff surface; slightly ribbed at bottom; mouth slightly squashed; handles asymmetrical. Late second or third century.
5. On northwest of central rock, with painted sherd (Dec. 7). Coarse red ware with white grits; coarse, light red surface; ribbed; squashed near bottom. About second century.

### Fig. 7

1. Above pavement behind shrine (Dec. 4). Red ware; light red surface. Third century.
2. In south end of ramp-trench (Dec. 5). Thin, red ware with lightened surface. Probably third century.
7. (Dec. 6). Brick-red ware, well levigated; reddish-buff surface; incised decoration. Photographed, Plate 16:C.

### Shallow bowls

The three shallow bowls from the Conway High Place, all unpainted and undecorated, cannot be dated with any precision. The example shown in Fig. 7:3 is an especially common form. Two painted bowls published by Murray and Ellis<sup>23</sup> are very similar in shape. One of them belongs to the early second century A. D., as is known from the Hadrian coin (Gaza issue) found with it. Although they are painted, it is very likely that unpainted bowls of similar form were being manufactured at the same time.

As far as the thin, painted Nabataean pottery (represented by a sherds in Fig. 7:8 and by several sherds in Plate 17:D) is concerned, its range has not yet been definitely established. In the mid-thirties, Iliffe dated the Nabataean pottery of this type from early in the first century B. C. until some time in the first half of the second century A. D.<sup>24</sup> In keeping with this, the Horsfields date sherds of the type in our Fig. 7:8 to the first century B. C. and A. D.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, Albright does not believe that the painted ware was made in any quantity before the time of Christ.<sup>26</sup> He cites the total lack of any painted Nabataean sherds at Beth-zur, which seems to have had some occupa-

tion in the early first century B. C.<sup>27</sup> Of greater importance in his view, however, is the absence of any sherds of Nabataean ware at Timna', capital of the ancient South-Arabian Kingdom of Qatabân, which was destroyed after 25 B. C.<sup>28</sup> Since sherds of Nabataean pottery have been reported from as far away as the Persian Gulf region,<sup>29</sup> they would also be expected in Timna'—if the ware were being made before the destruction of that city. There was regular caravan trade between Petra and Timna', as well as trade via the Red Sea between Aila (where sherds of the ware have been found)<sup>30</sup> and South Arabia, and it is almost inconceivable that some of the fine pottery from Nabatene would not have been exported to that commercial center in South Arabia, just as similar Hellenistic and Roman wares were.<sup>31</sup> Although these arguments are conditioned by the fact that there is a puzzling absence of sherds of Nabataean ware in many places where its presence would be taken for granted,<sup>32</sup> it is still very likely that the painted Nabataean ware was first made in quantity about the beginning of the Christian Era. Its generally assumed extension of a little more than two centuries would then take it into the early third century A. D. Its absence in the Roman tomb on Jebel Jôfeh ('Ammân)<sup>33</sup> is a good indication that none was in use later in the third century.

### Fig. 7

3. Found with a jar in the northeast part of the ring-

<sup>27</sup> Robert W. Funk, "The 1957 Campaign at Beth-zur," *Bulletin* 150, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Albright, review of Jacques Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie Méridionale avant l'Islam*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (1953), p. 39. In view of Howard Comfort's study of the sherds of imported Roman ware found at Timna' (see note 31 below), it seems necessary to modify this date to "after A. D. 10"; see Albright's paper, "Zur Chronologie des vorislamischen Arabien," in *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München, 1957*, ed. Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 153-155.

<sup>29</sup> Albright is of the opinion that some of the sherds described by H. R. P. and V. P. Dickson, "Thaj and Other Sites," *Iraq*, Vol. 10, Part I (Spring, 1948), pp. 1 f. (but not photographed) are Nabataean.

<sup>30</sup> Nelson Glueck, *ANNUAL XVIII-XIX*, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Howard Comfort, "Imported Pottery and Glass from Timna'," in *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* by Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., and Frank P. Albright (Baltimore, 1958), pp. 199-212.

<sup>32</sup> Glueck, *ANNUAL XXV-XXVIII*, pp. 10-18.

<sup>33</sup> *QDAP*, Vol. XIV, pp. 81-94.

<sup>23</sup> Murray and Ellis, *op. cit.*, Plate XXIX, nos. 84, 86; p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> J. H. Iliffe, "Sigillata Wares in the Near East," *QDAP*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1936), p. 16.

<sup>25</sup> G. and A. Horsfield, "Sela-Petra, the Rock, of Edom and Nabatene, IV: The Finds," *QDAP*, Vol. IX (1941), pp. 167 f., nos. 295, 296; cf. Fig. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Albright has not published his notes in support of this view.

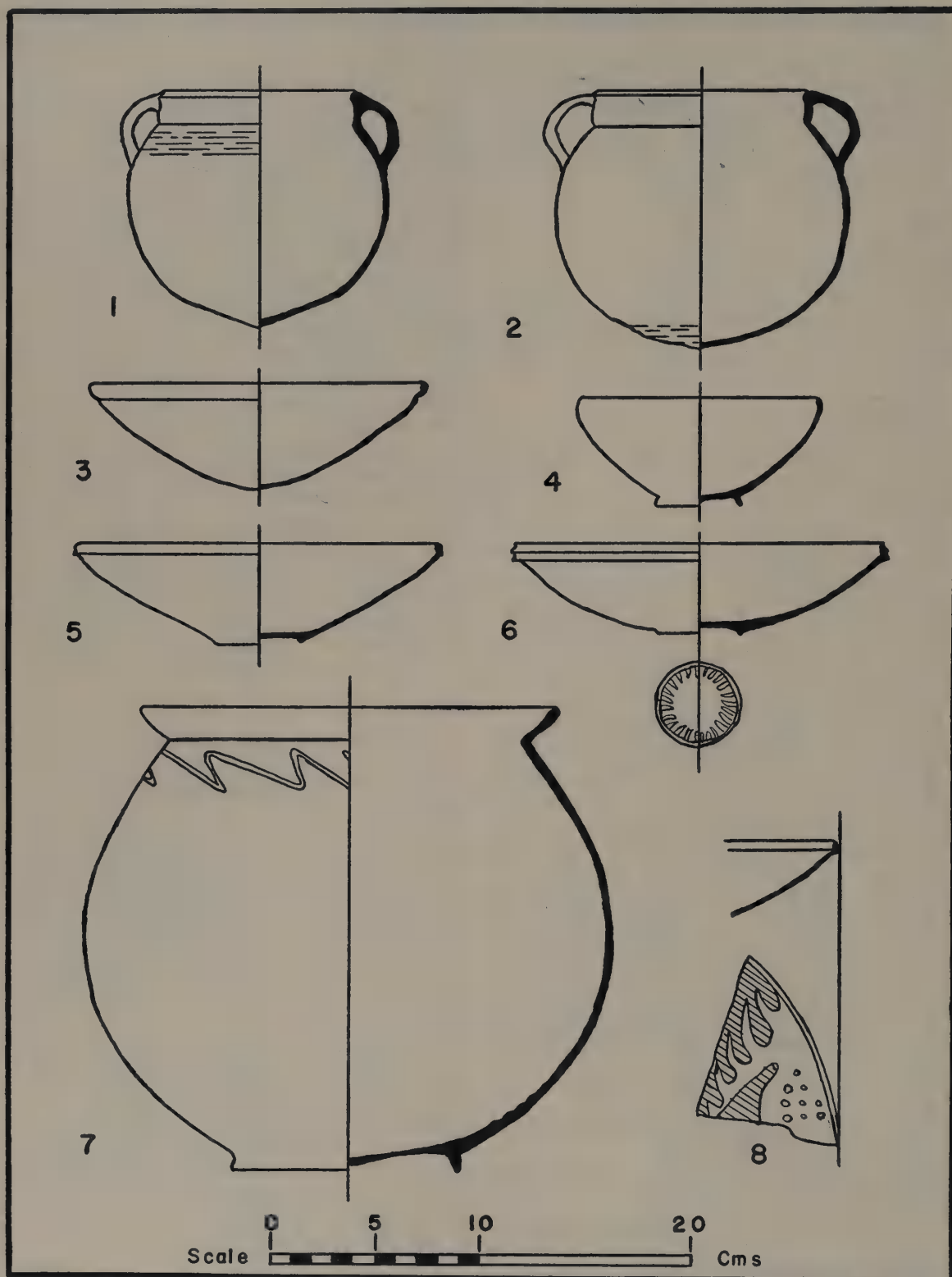


FIG. 7.



- wall (Dec. 7). Very thin, red ware; reddish-buff surface. Probably second century.
4. Thin, red ware; light reddish-buff surface.
  5. Found with cooking pot (Fig. 5:5). Thin, red ware; light red surface. First or second century.
  6. Found in a Roman tomb at Ader. Well levigated. Roman-Nabataean "terra sigillata." Cf. Murray and Ellis, *A Street in Petra*, Plate XXVIII, No. 67. First or second century.<sup>34</sup>
  8. Sherd of thin, painted bowl. First or second century A. D. Photographed, Plate 17:D, top.

### Pottery bottle

A small, partly ribbed bottle (Plate 17:A), nearly 14 cm. high and ca. 5 cm. in diameter, was found under the stonework of the retaining wall built over the northeast ramp. It is somewhat larger than the more common type of miniature bottles found on Nabataean sites in large numbers (for example of one, see the section on Ader, Plate 20), and this Petra bottle exhibits more skill in its manufacture.

This bottle can be compared to one found by the Horsfields in a tomb in el-Mu'eisra (in Petra valley).<sup>35</sup> Their example has a smaller body, but a neck larger in proportion to the size of the body. The Horsfields date it to the first century B. C. or A. D., but this range should probably be lowered, along with the painted Nabataean ware, by about a century.

A Nabataean tomb at the foot of Jebel 'Ammân el-Jedîd, excavated by G. L. Harding in 1943, contained several pottery bottles with ribbing on the bodies, along with numerous glass bottles of similar height. The lamps and shallow, painted Nabataean bowls suggest a date of the first or second century A. D. for the tomb.<sup>36</sup> This provides a general idea of the range of this type of pottery bottle.

Another similar bottle (or unguentarium) comes from Priene, where it was found in a tomb near the upper gymnasium.<sup>37</sup> It is 21 cm. high and slightly more elongated than our example. The

tomb is dated by an imperial coin to later than 2 or 3 B. C., i. e., to the first century A. D.

From Tomb I (in use third-fifth centuries A. D.) from the North Cemetery at Samaria comes a pottery bottle, thought to be the earliest piece in the tomb, with a body a little more oval than the body of ours and with a narrower neck.<sup>38</sup> It has a whitish-pink wash over a pink ware. It seems to be a late survival of the Hellenistic and early Roman pottery bottles which in later Roman and Byzantine times were largely replaced by glass bottles.

Small bottles of this type were found at Seleucia on the Tigris (Tell 'Umar) in strata I-III, which represent the first century B. C. and the first and second centuries A. D.<sup>39</sup> The published example of the type is 12.2 cm. high with a body 4.2 cm. in diameter.<sup>40</sup> The general appearance is much the same as our example, but there is no ribbing and the lower part of the body is more rounded, while the bottom seems to be flat.

### Lamps

One complete (but damaged) lamp and a fragment of another lamp come from the debris on the south side of the central rock (see Plate 18:A). The fragment belongs to the left side of a lamp with a moulded design nearly identical to that on the complete lamp. The moulded decoration on these lamps consists of volutes springing from the nozzle, radial lines around the entire top of the lamp, tiny rings on the top at either side of the oil-hole, a rosette on the side opposite the nozzle, and a flaring nozzle which is flat on top like the so-called Herodian lamps. The last-mentioned characteristic indicates a first-century date for these lamps.

Two parallels, in better condition and with the same decoration, can be cited. One is from a dump at Petra, published by the Horsfields,<sup>41</sup> and the other was found by Dalman in an unrecorded location in the Petra area.<sup>42</sup> A curiosity pointed out by Dalman is that there are four tiny rings in

<sup>34</sup> *Bulletin* 53, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> *QDAP*, Vol. IX, Plate XXI: no. 155, described on p. 143.

<sup>36</sup> Lankester Harding, "A Nabataean Tomb at 'Aman," *QDAP*, Vol. XII (1946), pp. 58-62.

<sup>37</sup> Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader, *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 279 f. The bottle in question is shown in Fig. 290:c (p. 279) and again (in same photograph) in Fig. 545: no. 109 (p. 427). The imperial coin is shown in Fig. 291 (p. 280).

<sup>38</sup> *Samaria-Sebaste III*, p. 424, and Plate XXV:8.

<sup>39</sup> Neilson C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1934), p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate VIII: no. 74; pp. 54 f.

<sup>41</sup> Horsfield, *QDAP*, Vol. IX, Plate XI; no. 42, described on p. 122.

<sup>42</sup> Gustaf Dalman, *Neue Petra-Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 26 f., and Fig. 15b (p. 27).

the decoration on the left side of his lamp, but only three on the right. The Horsfields' example is obscured on the left, but three rings appear on the right. Our examples both have four rings on the left, but the complete lamp is too badly worn on the right for one to discern the number of rings. Since all four lamps seem to have come from different moulds—in spite of the identical decoration—it would be quite intriguing if there were more evidence to establish a pattern of seven rings on this type of Nabataean lamp.

### The coins

The introduction by the workmen of extraneous coins into an excavation, motivated by a natural desire for *baḥšiš*, presents a special problem at Petra because of the large number of coins which are washed loose during rains or dug up by poverty-stricken *bedū*. The excavator of the Conway High Place was therefore very cautious in accepting coins as genuine when he did not personally watch them come from the debris. The eighteen coins described below are almost certainly all from the High Place, but this cannot be absolutely guaranteed.

After the coins were cleaned, it was found that all were Nabataean but one. The Nabataean coins belong to Aretas IV (9 B. C. to A. D. 40) and his successor Malichus II (A. D. 40 to 70) as far as can be determined, with two or three possible exceptions. Unfortunately, the coins which might have had the greatest value to stratigraphy and chronology were worn smooth and were nearly useless.

### List of coins

1. *Obv.* Figure of King, standing left, dressed in military garment, right hand raised, left hand on hip from which a long sword hangs.
- Rev.* Female figure in long robe, standing left and holding object in right hand. To right is name Shaqilat, written in three lines: *ŠQ\YL\T*.
- Attr.* The coin is not listed in *BMC*<sup>43</sup> nor in Kammerer.<sup>44</sup> A coin which by its summary description seems to be of the same type is in the Berlin Cabinet; see *BMC*, p. xx, Plate XLIX:11. The coin can be attributed either to Aretas IV or to his successor Malichus II,

<sup>43</sup> George Francis Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* in the British Museum (London, 1922), pp. xi-xxii; 1-13.

<sup>44</sup> Albert Kammerer, *Petra et la Nabatène* (Paris, 1929-1930).

both of whom had queens called Shaqilat, but more probably to the latter king.

- Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall on west side near juncture with city wall (Dec. 8).
2. See Plate 18:B, upper left.
 

*Obv.* Jugate busts of King and Queen, right: partly off flan; raised border.

*Rev.* Crossed cornucopiae, between and below: *HRTT\ŠQY\LT*.

*Attr.* Aretas IV and Shaqilat; A. D. 11 to 40; cf. *BMC*, p. 8, No. 14, and Plate II:1; Dussaud,<sup>45</sup> p. 229, and Plate III:12; Bellinger,<sup>46</sup> p. 37, and Plate V: no. 77.

*Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall on west, between shrine platform and juncture of city wall (Dec. 8).
  3. See Plate 18:B, right center.
 

*Obv.* Bust of King laureate, right, ornament on top of head.

*Rev.* Crossed cornucopiae, between them: (?).

*Attr.* Aretas IV (9 B. C. to A. D. 40). Crossed cornucopiae occur on the coins of Aretas IV, Malichus II and Rabbel II, but on the coins of the two latter only with an *obv.* of jugate heads.<sup>46a</sup>

*Prov.* Trench outside of ring-wall, in conflagration at foot of city wall (Dec. 8).
  4. *Obv.* Bust of King right, partly off flan, border of dots.
  - Rev.* Crossed cornucopiae, corroded.
  - Attr.* Aretas IV; cf. No. 3 above.
  - Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall, conflagration at base of city wall (Dec. 8).
  5. *Obv.* Bust of Emperor, right, draped, diademed.
  - Rev.* Soldier holding shield and spearing fallen horseman.
  - Attr.* The coin is of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO type<sup>47</sup> and as such belongs to the middle of the fourth century A. D. The portrait is most likely that of Constantius II.
  - Prov.* Debris at north (Dec. 9).
  6. See Plate 18:B, lower left.
 

*Obv.* Bust of King, right, laureate.

*Rev.* Two cornucopiae, not crossed, containing

<sup>45</sup> René Dussaud, "Numismatique des rois de Nabatène," *Journal Asiatique*, 10th series, Vol. III (1904), pp. 189-238.

<sup>46</sup> Alfred R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, 1928-1934*, in *Numismatic Monographs*, No. 81 (New York, 1938).

<sup>46a</sup> See, for example, Sir Alexander S. Kirkbride, "Some Rare Coins from Transjordan," *Bulletin* 106 (April, 1947), pp. 4 f. and Fig. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Abbreviation from *FELIX TEMPORUM REPARATIO*, "The restoration of prosperous times." These coins were common from the time of Constans I and Constantius II (A. D. 337-350, -361) until the time of Gratian (A. D. 367-383). See Seth William Stevenson, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins, Republican and Imperial* (London, 1889), pp. 878 f.

- flowers; palm frond to left. At left in field  $\overline{H}$ , probably abbreviation for Aretas.  
*Attr.* Aretas IV. Not in *BMC* nor in Dussaud. Represents a variant of Kammerer, p. 533, No. 13, and Plate 149:13, which has no  $\overline{H}$ .  
*Prov.* Debris at north (Dec. 9).
7. *Obv.* Bust (?).  
*Rev.* Upright figure (?).  
*Attr.* Badly corroded, but probably Nabataean.  
*Prov.* Northeastern ramp-trench (Dec. 9).
8. Fragment, perhaps part of an ornament and not a coin.  
*Prov.* Debris at northwest (Dec. 10).
9. *Obv.* Bust, toward right  
*Rev.* Standing female figure, toward left with right hand outstretched.  
*Attr.* The coin is badly corroded, split on the obv. and worn on the rev., but judging by its greater thickness, by the bust which fills almost the whole flan and by the figure on the rev. (cf. Dussaud, Plate I:3), the attribution to Aretas III (87 to 62 B.C.) is perhaps likely.  
*Prov.* Debris at northwest (Dec. 10).
10. See Plate 18:B, lower right.  
*Obv.* Standing male figure, toward left, with right hand raised. In field at right  $\overline{H}$ . Border of dots.  
*Rev.* Standing female figure, toward left, with right hand raised, stretched palm (?). To right are letters  $\overline{Q}\backslash\overline{Q}$ .  
*Attr.* This coin is not found in *BMC*, Dussaud, or Kammerer.  
*Prov.* Debris at northwest (Dec. 10).
11. *Obv.* Bust, toward right.  
*Rev.* Crossed cornucopiae.  
*Attr.* Aretas IV.  
*Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall at southwest (Dec. 11).
12. Badly corroded, probably Nabataean.  
*Prov.* In ramp-trench on northeast, in sand of earlier filling (Dec. 11).
13. *Obv.* Large bust, completely worn away.  
*Rev.* Completely worn smooth.  
*Attr.* Perhaps Aretas III.  
*Prov.* In ramp-trench on northeast, imbedded in hard yellow sand under earlier filling (Dec. 11).
14. See Plate 18:B, upper right.  
*Obv.* Jugate busts of King and Queen, toward right. Border of dots.  
*Rev.* Crossed cornucopiae; between:  $\overline{MLKW}\backslash\overline{SQY}$ .  
*Attr.* Malichus II and Shaqilat II (A.D. 40 to 71). Cf. *BMC*, p. 11, No. 4, and Plate II:17; Dussaud, p. 234, No. 64.  
*Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall on southwest (Dec. 11).
15. Small fragment with lower part of eagle on rev. Probably Nabataean.  
*Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall on southwest (Dec. 11).
16. Corroded and broken, probably Nabataean.  
*Prov.* Southwest of central rock, between upper and lower pavements (Dec. 11).
17. See Plate 18:B, left center.  
*Obv.* Male figure standing, frontal, with right hand raised. Border of dots.  
*Rev.* Standing female figure, toward left with right hand raised. To the right is the name Shaqilat in three lines:  $\overline{SQ}\backslash\overline{YL}\backslash\overline{T}$ .  
*Attr.* Aretas IV or Malichus II. Not in *BMC*, Dussaud, or Kammerer, but cf. coin No. 10 above; Bellinger, pp. 37 f., and Plate V: no. 78b (probably Aretas IV).  
*Prov.* Trench outside ring-wall to south (Dec. 7).
18. Probably as above, but more worn and letters invisible.  
*Prov.* As above.

### Fragment of Greek Inscription

A fragment of a Greek inscription (Plate 17:B) was found in the debris inside the stone circle on the southeast side. The marble fragment has a maximum length of ca. 14.5 cm. and width of ca. 10 cm. It contains parts of six lines, but no complete words to aid in determining the content of the inscription (*kai* and *ta* seem to occur in the second line, however, but are of little help). The preserved text reads as follows:<sup>48</sup>

(line 1)	[ ]ΜΟΛ[ ]
(line 2)	[ ]ΚΑΙΤΑΛ(?) [ ]
(line 3)	[ ]ΟCΑΝΗΙ[ ]
(line 4)	[ ]ΑΝΟΝΔ(?) [ ]
(line 5)	[ ]ΥΚΕ[ ]
(line 6)	[ ]ΕΙ [ ]

As can be immediately concluded, this can hardly be anything but a dedicatory inscription, but whether it was part of a stele, monument or building inscription is not clear.

The fragment is most likely from about the second century A.D., although there is room for either earlier or slightly later dates. Professor C. Bradford Welles, after examining our photograph, had this to say about the fragment:<sup>49</sup> "If *kai* in line 2 is really the conjunction, the probabilities are strong that the text is not later than the second century, and except for the exaggerated cross-bar of *alpha*, there is nothing inconsistent with such a dating from the Gerasa parallels.<sup>50</sup> Lack of liga-

<sup>48</sup> *Bulletin* 57, p. 24.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of September 11, 1958.

<sup>50</sup> See C. B. Welles, "The Inscriptions," *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, Figs. 14, 15 (p. 366).



tures point in the same direction; and the fact that the text is on a thick stone, probably from a building. The later, Byzantine things tend to be on very thin slabs. Probably it is a building inscription, but we cannot read *anegeiren* in line 3. There is really very little to go on for recovery of the original sense, unless line 1 may be part of a proper name."

Professor James H. Oliver has studied the palaeography of the inscription and furnished the following notes: <sup>51</sup>

The inscription found at Petra in 1934 with the letters OCANHI can hardly date before the first century after Christ or later than the third century after Christ. The broken-bar alpha tends to go out at Athens between A.D. 50 and 120, but it may have continued indefinitely in other places. The overlapping second oblique stroke is particularly common in the second century at Athens in alphas, deltas and lambdas. Your type of tall N and tall oval alphabet are somewhat paralleled in an Athenian inscription of 125 A.D. (Graindor, *Album*, Plate xxxvi). The absence of peculiarly Hellenistic features and the presence of features which go well with the eclectic second century after Christ determine my preference for the period of the Early Roman Empire.

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<sup>51</sup> Dated September 25, 1958.

## CHAPTER III

### THE HIGH PLACE IN THE ANCIENT SEMITIC WORLD

The Conway High Place, consisting basically of a sacred rock-mass and an ambulatory around it which was used for ritual purposes, is typical of ancient Arabian sanctuaries<sup>1</sup> and has affinities with sanctuaries in other ancient Semitic cultures.

Of the pre-Islamic Arab sanctuaries with similar features, several have persisted into the full light of modern history.<sup>2</sup> The most obvious instance is the Ka'ba at Mecca, containing the famous Black Stone, around which the devotees make circuits in a prescribed manner. This practice was recognized by Muslim scholars as a survival from the Days of Ignorance.<sup>3</sup> Another detached stone still revered in the Islamic world is also in Mecca, housed in the structure known as the *maqâm Ibrâhîm*, which is not far from the Ka'ba. It is said to be the stone on which Abraham stood when he made his supposed journey to Mecca.<sup>4</sup>

When Philby was exploring the southern regions of the Sa'ûdî Kingdom in 1936, he discovered, in

the Nejrân plain near the border of Yemen, an ancient cultic installation which he identifies as the "Ka'ba of Najran."<sup>5</sup> Philby's description is vivid:

"We suddenly found ourselves confronted by what seemed to be a 'processional way.' Its horns impinging on the base of the rock at either extremity of a great semicircle gave a diameter of 174 paces (say 145 yards). The *Mataf* or 'processional way' followed the outer edge of the semicircle, being marked out by medium-sized or small blocks of stone placed on either side of the path, which is four paces wide on the average. . . . I observed that . . . there was a huge boulder, some nine feet high, four and a half paces long and two paces wide, with its northern extremity thirty-eight paces from the base of the hill. Round it on the west side and on the western halves of the north and south sides—but not on the east parts at all—lay a narrow band of small untrimmed rocks. No doubt remained or remains in my mind that we had, indeed, found the long lost Ka'ba of Najran with its half-Mataf of circumambulation."<sup>6</sup>

This shrine was at the base of a high vertical cliff which is part of a hill called "Taslal." It should be pointed out, for the sake of comparison, that the sacred rock of the Conway High Place is something like 13 m. by 14 m. and rises a little more than 2 m. above the level of the stone pavements; the Nejrân rock seems to have a somewhat different shape.

Philby also mentions a "Ka'ba" at San'â, "said to be extant in the Ghumdan mosque though I have never heard this confirmed on any eye-witness authority,"<sup>7</sup> and one at a place called Khalasa in mediaeval Arab literature. He believes the latter to be a locality in the Hîjâz mountains.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabian Highlands* (Ithaca, 1952), pp. 220-224. Philby uses the words *ka'ba* in its extended sense, since its basic meaning is "cube" and refers to a stone or building of that shape. A *ka'ba* in Najrân is mentioned in the *kitâb el-aṣnâm* (cf. Faris, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.) as a sanctuary of the Banu-al-Ḥârith (the present-day Bal-Ḥârith of Wâdî Beihân?).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222. The word *maṭâf* is, of course, from the same root as *ṭawâf*, "circuit," and means the "place where the circuit is made."

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138. While Philby was at Khalasa in Khamis Mushait, an inscribed rock was pointed out as

<sup>1</sup> See *Bulletin* 57, p. 20. A summary discussion of Nabataean religious thought and practices may be found in René Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1955), pp. 31-46. Since the early Muslims sought to eradicate traces of paganism with great zeal and had fairly well succeeded in doing so before more liberal Arab writers began their work, Arab sources do not supply us with many of the details of the religions of their pagan ancestors. The most important Arab source is the *kitâb al-aṣnâm* ("The Book of Idols") by Ibn al-Kalbî (died 819), which before the early part of this century was known only through citations in later compilers, (e. g., Yâqût and [Abd al-Qâdir] al-Baghdâdî), but which is now known in a complete manuscript; see Nabih Amin Faris, *The Book of Idols* (Princeton, 1952), pp. vii-xii. See also G. Ryckmans, "Les religions arabes préislamiques," in *L'histoire générale des religions*, ed. Maxime Gorce and Raoul Mortier (Paris, 1947), Vol. III, pp. 307-332. The Syriac Fathers also provide information on the practices of their pagan neighbors.

<sup>2</sup> Henri Lammens provides a good discussion of the relationship between Mohammed and the customs of Arab paganism in "Les sanctuaires préislamiques dans l'Arabie occidentale," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, Vol. XI (1926), pp. 37-173.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Welhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. Wensinck, "Ka'ba," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II (1927), p. 585.

A very well known sanctuary, in which the idea of a sacred rock-mass surrounded by an ambulatory is embodied in monumental architecture, might easily be overlooked. This is the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (sometimes erroneously called the Mosque of Omar), which is essentially a housing for a sacred rock. When the early Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (A. D. 685-705) determined to establish—largely for political reasons—an Islamic shrine in Syria to rival both the Ka'ba in Mecca and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,<sup>9</sup> he took typically Arab ideas to the long-revered city of Jerusalem and had then incorporated into an impressive structure which had the Constantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre as its model. That an annular plan was selected was not fortuitous; the ambulatories were intended for the *ṭawâf*, i. e., the ritual circumambulation.<sup>10</sup>

The literary sources and the vestiges of pagan Arab practices in Islam suggest that the sacred object, whether idol or sacred stone, was usually surrounded by an enclosure which marked a sacred precinct, comparable to the *temenos* of ancient Greece. The worshipper was expected to prepare himself in some way to enter this *ḥaram* or sacred area—perhaps by ablution—and while in the enclosure was considered to be in a state of inviolability.<sup>11</sup>

The most important part of ancient Arab cult, according to Welhausen, was the circuit of the sanctuary, in which both men and women took part.<sup>12</sup> In fact, it may be that the word *ḥajj*, "pilgrimage," originally meant "circuit," as suggested by the root *HWG* in Hebrew and Aramaic-Syriac.<sup>13</sup> The circumambulation was usually known as the *ṭawâf*, and the sacred rock or stone itself was sometimes called a *dawâr* because of the rite performed around it.

In addition to the Ka'ba at Mecca, the rite of the *ṭawâf* is still practiced also by Shiite pilgrims to the *Mešhed Ḥusein* (Kerbelâ) in 'Irâq; there the circuit is made through a covered corridor which surrounds the building constituting the sanctuary of the third Imâm.<sup>13a</sup>

being the *ka'ba* of the tradition, but he did not accept this as correct.

<sup>9</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pp. 17 and 35 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

<sup>12</sup> Welhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

An extremely important parallel, if correct, for the *ṭawâf* has been proposed in the use of the root *QYF* in Old South Arabic. Mordtmann and Mittwoch have suggested that<sup>14</sup> "Qaif und Maqâf wären also ursprünglich Kultsteine, bei denen die Cereemonie des Umlaufs, [*ṭawâf*], vollzogen wurde, ähnlich wie die [*'anšâb*]"<sup>15</sup> der nordarabischen Ġāhiliya, bei denen auch blutige Opfer dargebracht wurden." They based this conclusion primarily on the meaning of Hebrew *NQF*<sup>16</sup> in the hiphil, "to encircle," and the related word, *ṭeqûphāh* "cycle (of the sun)."<sup>17</sup> Rhodokanakis independently came to the conclusion that the cultic use of the root *QYF* in South Arabia was very much like the use of the word *ṭawâf* farther north in pre-Islamic Arabia.<sup>18</sup> In South Arabic the root occurs in both the I and X forms of the verb and in two nominal forms, one with and one without prefixed *m*. Conti Rossini gives the meaning of the verbs as *consecravit* and the meaning of the nouns as *quod consecratum est, monumentum, altare, lapis votivus* and A. Jamme gives the meaning of *MQF* as "*objet votif*."<sup>19</sup> The question is whether the root does mean "to regard as sacred, to worship," or whether it means "to go around."

<sup>13a</sup> E. Honigmann, "Meshhed Ḥusain," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. III (Leiden, 1936), p. 478.

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Mordtmann and E. Mittwoch, *Himjarische Inschriften in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (1932), pp. 33 f.

<sup>15</sup> The word *'anšâb*, is apparently used as the plural both of *nuṣb*, "what is set up and worshipped to the exclusion of, or in preference to, the true God," and of *nuṣub*, (*Qur'ân* 5:5) "an idol," or "a stone which the pagan Arabs set up, to sacrifice, or slay animals, before it, or by it"; see Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book I, Part 7, ed. Stanley Lane-Poole (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 2800.

<sup>16</sup> The only occurrence of the *gal* *\*nāqaph* (from this root) is in Isaiah 29:1, where it has the meaning "to go through the cycle (of yearly festivals), but this is usually considered as a niphal. Cf. this meaning with Ugaritic *nqpt*, mentioned below.

<sup>17</sup> Roots with medial *y* or *w* and initial *n* were sometimes confused, for instance, *nāsak* "to pour out," and *sāk*, "to anoint," are clearly related.

<sup>18</sup> Since Roodokanakis' paper is not available to the writer, he relies on Albright for this information.

<sup>19</sup> Karolus Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis: epigraphica*, in *Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente* (Rome, 1931), pp. 231 f. A. Jamme, P. B., *Pièces épigraphiques de Heïd bin 'Aqil, la nécropole de Timna* (*Hagr Kohlân*), in *Bibliothèque du Muséon*, Vol. 30 (Louvain, 1952), pp. 206-209. The Timna Cemetery occurrences are on memorial stelae.



There is some evidence in other Semitic languages, aside from that brought forward by Mordtmann and Mittwoch (and accepted by Maria Höfner)<sup>20</sup> from Hebrew, that the latter alternatives may be correct. In Ugaritic a word *nqpt*, "year(s)," occurs in parallelism with *šnt*;<sup>21</sup> this is evidently based on the idea of going through a cycle.<sup>22</sup> In North Arabic there is a root *QYF* used in the II and V forms of the verb with the meaning "to track" or "to follow the tracks of" and also in the V form with the additional meaning "to travel about (in a country)." A companion root *QWF* occurs in the I and VIII form, also in the meaning "to track." It is possible to see a relationship between these meanings and the idea of "to go around." The Arabic word *qauf*, "upper edge of the ear," could easily have come from an earlier meaning "circle" or "circumference," but this would be a medial *w* form, agreeing with Hebrew *tēqūphāh*. Turning to Syriac, the semantic associations of *qūfā*, "bezel of a ring," are obvious—especially if it contains the idea of "what encircles the setting"—but then the evidence in Syriac is ambiguous, owing to apparent confusion between the roots *QPP* and *QWP*.

The strongest evidence against giving South-Arabian *QYF* the basic meaning "to go around" arises out of the Accadian word *qāpu* (older *qiāpum*), "to entrust" and perhaps "to trust."<sup>23</sup> A semantic association between "trust" and "put confidence in, worship" is possible, and it may be that this is the explanation for the cultic use of the root *QYF* in South Arabic. In this case the medial *w* root, as well as the root with initial *n*, would be separate from the medial *y* root, although perhaps later confused to some extent in North Arabic.

Even assuming, however, that the South Arabic verbs from the root *QYF* mean "to trust, worship" and that the nouns *qayf* and *maqâf* were the "objects of trust or worship," there is still no reason to conclude that the rite of circumambula-

tion did not exist in the ancient kingdoms of South Arabia or that the circuit was not part of the act of worship. Philby's "Ka'ba of Najran," discussed above, presumably goes back to the period during which the ancient South-Arabian civilizations flourished, and the huge boulder, around which the giant semicircular *maqâf* ran, was indeed a *qayf* or *maqâf*. That there were other such stone circles in South Arabia is suggested by the existence of a similar—but smaller—installation in Dhofâr, near the ancient city of Sumhuram at Khôr Rôri,<sup>24</sup> on the coast of the Indian Ocean some thirty miles east of Ṣalâlah. This ancient sanctuary was examined by the writer in February, 1958.<sup>25</sup> A three-quarters circle of rough stones (with some gaps where stones had been displaced), having a diameter of something like 25 meters, was centered on a low ridge of rock under which there is a grotto filled with drifted soil and sand. The sanctuary is approximately 250 meters northeast of the ruins of Sumhuram and may date from about the same time (ca. second century B. C. to fourth century A. D.) or a little earlier. It may even be that the curious oval plan of the giant temple of 'Awwâm at Mârib (in Yemen) originated in connection with the circumambulation of a sanctuary there.<sup>26</sup>

As for the manner of the *ṭawâf* or rite of circumambulation in the central and northern parts of Arabia in pagan times, it seems that the circuit was sometimes performed in a state of nudity,<sup>27</sup> although it is not certain how widespread this custom was. A survival of this in modified form

<sup>24</sup> The word *khôr* means "inlet," or "*wâdi* mouth," so the name could be given as "Rori Inlet."

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Wendell Phillips, President of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, organized and led the exploratory expedition of 1957-58 to southeastern Arabia ('Omân and Dhofâr) which provided the author with the opportunity of investigating this ancient sanctuary (which had apparently not been recognized previously). Additional notes and an aerial photograph appear in "The Sacred Stone Circle of Khor Rori (Dhofar)," *Bulletin* 155 (October, 1959), pp. 29-31.

<sup>26</sup> See Wendell Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba* (London, 1955), pp. 256-258, and the figure opp. p. 255; also Frank P. Albright, "The Excavation of the Temple of the Moon at Mârib (Yemen)," *Bulletin* 128 (December, 1952), pp. 26 ff. and Fig. 1 (p. 27); and Frank P. Albright "Excavations at Mârib in Yemen," *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, in *Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man*, ed. W. F. Albright, et al., Vol. II (Baltimore, 1958), pp. 216-235, and Fig. 153 (p. 245).

<sup>27</sup> Welhausen *ad loc.*, and Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Höfner, review of J. H. Mordtmann and E. Mittwoch, *Himjarische Inschriften in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, New series, Vol. 12 (Vol. 87, 1934), pp. 255 f.

<sup>21</sup> See Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, in *Analecta Orientalia*, 35 (Rome, 1955), p. 299 for references.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. note 16 above.

<sup>23</sup> Wolfram von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, in *Analecta Orientalia*, 33 (Rome, 1952), § 104e (p. 143) and § 143 f. (p. 199).

may be found in the simple ritual garment in which modern pilgrims to Mecca attire themselves. It is also probable that during the ritual the worshipper kissed the sacred stone,<sup>28</sup> just as the Black Stone of the Ka'ba in Mecca is kissed at the present time.<sup>29</sup>

The offering pots found buried around the sacred rock of the Conway High Place agree with what is known about ancient Arabian veneration of the dead. G. Ryckmans describes the attitude of the living toward the dead succinctly: "Les vivants gardent cependant certains contacts avec les morts: ils les saluent, ils les visitent, ils leur apportent des offrandes, jurent par eux et vénèrent leurs tombeaux. . . ." <sup>30</sup>

The type of belief indicated by the installations of the Conway High Place seems to have had a certain chthonic character to it, to judge from the rock-hewn, stepped ramps which lead down into the sacred rock. While the ancient Arabian believed that the heavens were inhabited by gods, he also believed that the subterranean regions were inhabited by spirits and phantoms.<sup>31</sup> Yet there is nothing to suggest that the cuttings in the sacred rock were used in the worship or appeasement of such spirit beings. Albright has suggested that they may have been ritual entrances to the underworld, on the order of the *nêreb erṣiti* of the

Babylonians.<sup>32</sup> The stairway leading down into a grotto beneath the sacred rock of the *ḥaram eš-šerif* in Jerusalem almost certainly had its origin in a similar concept. However, as for the Petra sacred rock, it cannot be determined whether Dusares,<sup>33</sup> chief god of the Nabataeans, some other deity, or spirits of the underworld were worshipped in connection with the ramps.<sup>34</sup>

The close historical relationship between the *bâmāh*, "high place," of the Hebrew Bible and the kind of sanctuary represented by the Conway High Place has long been recognized.<sup>35</sup> Albright has convincingly explained the word *bâmāh* as a development of an older form *\*bahmatu*, which had the basic meaning "projecting mass of rock, mountain ridge, stone burial cairn."<sup>36</sup> This suggests that the earliest *bâmāh*-high places were very much like the Conway High Place, although they later were furnished with commemorative stelae and planted with trees sacred to the mother goddess.<sup>37</sup> These appurtenances, then, are to be regarded as merely elaborations of the more primitive high place—as would be expected in a sedentary society. The Conway High Place, established by the Nabataeans while they were still nomadic, is one of the oldest known sanctuaries at Petra.<sup>38</sup> Its discovery and excavation have contributed significantly to our knowledge of the ancient Semitic high place.

<sup>28</sup> Ryckmans *ad loc.*

<sup>29</sup> Alfred Guillaume, *Islam* (Harmondsworth, 1956), p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> Ryckmans *ad loc.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Bulletin* 57, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup> Dusares may be the Greek form of *ḏū-šarā*, "the one of the Sharā (Plateau)," but this is not certain.

<sup>34</sup> See *Bulletin* 57, p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> See, e.g., W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, 1889), pp. 470 f.

<sup>36</sup> W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Pales-

tine," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. IV (1957), pp. 256 f.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 254 f.

<sup>38</sup> Hans-Ulrich Nübel, "Arabische Eigenart und Hellenismus in der Stadt Petra," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (1957), pp. 170 f. From the account of Antigonos' raid on Petra (312 B. C.) given by Hieronymus of Cardia, it is to be concluded that the Nabataeans had no houses at Petra at that time, and there is certainly no archaeological evidence to indicate otherwise. On the fourth century B. C. date for the foundation of the Conway High Place, see Albright, *Bulletin* 57, p. 21 f.

## CHAPTER IV

### KHIRBET ADER: INTRODUCTION

The ancient site now called "Ader" or "Khirbet Ader"<sup>1</sup> lies seven kilometers northeast of the city of Kerak in Transjordan. At an elevation of approximately 950 meters above sea level, Ader is surrounded for the most part by broad, level agricultural land which can produce fair crops of grain in years when there are adequate winter rains. On the east of the mound of Ader is the beginning of a small *wâdî*, Ḥammet el-Ḥemrî. This *wâdî* descends toward Lejjûn, almost directly to the east, where it joins a larger stream-bed flowing north and joining in its turn the Seil el-Môjib (Biblical River Arnon).<sup>2</sup>

The archaeological impressiveness of Ader, which led to the decision to make soundings there,<sup>3</sup> consisted of menhirs, the foundations of a large temple, and its great extent. The site reached its greatest area in the latter part of the Early Bronze Age; the remains from this period extend 500 meters or more from northwest to southeast,<sup>4</sup> and according to Glueck's calculations they cover some ten acres.<sup>5</sup> Not even the Byzantine city matched the size of the Early Bronze Age settlement.<sup>6</sup> Northeast of the main *tell*, and separated from it by a shallow valley or depression, is another mound—a small one so low that it might not have been recognized except for the numerous potsherds which are visible on the surface.

After lying in virtual ruin since early in the Arab period, Ader has become a populous village

since the turn of this century.<sup>7</sup> At the time of the preliminary archaeological work on the site in November, 1933, the modern village covered most of the main *tell*, and stone from many of the ancient walls had been removed for use in modern construction.

The name "Ader" is almost certainly an archaic word meaning "threshing floor" or "granary," also "pile of grain (heaped beside the threshing floor)." In this case, it is related to Syriac *edderā* (Nestorian *adderā*; Biblical Aramaic *\*iddar*), Ugaritic *'adr*, and Accadian *adru*.<sup>8</sup> The doubling of the *d* in Aramaic-Syriac is further attested by the Syrian Arabic word *'andar*, "grain piled beside a threshing floor," which was borrowed from the Aramaic with resolution of the doubling.<sup>9</sup> The Middle Assyrian word *adru* has been interpreted by B. Landsberger, on the basis of context, as meaning *Scheune*.<sup>10</sup> The meaning "shed for grain" fits in very well with the occurrence of *'adr* in Ugaritic: 2 Aqht V, (line 6) . . . *tḥt* (line 7) *'adrm · dbgrn*, "... beneath the grain sheds which are on the threshing floor. . . ." <sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The biggest boom came in the twenties when the increased security of the British administration encouraged Christian families from Kerak to build houses from the abundant cut stone available on the mound.

<sup>8</sup> The background of the word *adru* and its cognates has been confused with Accadian *adaru* (not *addaru*, which is a reconstructed form not written, but merely based on the erroneous identification), the name of the twelfth month. The name of the month was taken into Hebrew and Aramaic as *ādār*, and into Syriac as *āḏār*, from which the Arabic *'ādār*, or *'adār*, "March," is derived. Haupt's suggestion that *adaru* developed from proto-Semitic *HDR*, "to go around," cannot be correct, for then the form would have been *ed(e)ru*. See Paul Haupt, "Elul und Adar," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 64 (1910), p. 705.

<sup>9</sup> This borrowing was long ago recognized by P. Jensen. However, he connected the word with Accadian *ad(d)aru*, the name of the twelfth month. See his "Wirkungen des Aleph im Babylonisch-Assyrischen," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Vol. VIII (1892), p. 216.

<sup>10</sup> "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. VIII (1949), p. 292, note 138.

<sup>11</sup> Cyrus Gordon's view that the word means "digni-

<sup>1</sup> Written *'dr* in Arabic. The English spelling of the name is the closest approximation to the colloquial pronunciation. "*Khirbeh*" (*khirbet* when followed by a dependent noun) means a "ruin."

<sup>2</sup> F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1933), Vol. I, Plate X.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (London, 1954), p. 8. The temple remains, which were discovered by Albright in 1924, were the greatest attraction of the site, so it was a great disappointment in 1933 to find that virtually all of the foundation stones had been used as building blocks in the growing village.

<sup>4</sup> Albright, "Soundings at Ader, a Bronze Age City of Moab," *Bulletin* 53 (February, 1934), p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson Glueck, "Further Explorations in Eastern Palestine," *Bulletin* 51 (September, 1953), p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Albright *ad loc.*



It seems that *adru*, "grain shed," passed from Accadian into Northwest Semitic, where it is found in Ugaritic and Aramaic (the doubling of the *d* in Aramaic is apparently secondary). Thus the name "Ader" is ultimately from an old Northwest-Semitic name—perhaps at one time a Moabite name of the city. Albright holds that the place name *'adōrāyim*, Adoraim (Greek *Adora*, now *Dûrā*) of II Chronicles 11:9 is related, meaning originally "two grain sheds."<sup>12</sup>

The earliest known documentary reference to the town of Ader occurs in the Lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium, who describes it as a Persian city on the authority of a periplus of the Persian Gulf by Marcianus of Heracleia.<sup>13</sup> Since Stephanus specifies that this "Adara" was in the Third Province of Palestine between Cherakmoba (modern Kerak) and Areopolis (ancient and modern Rabbah), there can be no doubt about the correctness of this identification. The extent of the remains from the Byzantine Period at Khirbet Ader verify his description of the place as a "large village."

Unfortunately, however, the Lexicon of Stephanus cannot be dated with great precision. While it can be no later than the early part of the seventh century, it might possibly be as early as the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>14</sup> Even assuming that Marcianus was really speaking of the same city in his *Periplus*, we can still say only that this literary attestation of the name "Ader" is not later than about A.D. 600. On the other hand, Marcianus' reference may have been considerably earlier, for the *terminus a quo* for his writings is the time of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography*, from which he drew heavily.<sup>15</sup> In seeking a solution to the problem, archaeology contributes little, since no date for Marcianus' notation between A.D. 150 and A.D. 600 could be excluded on the basis of remains at Khirbet Ader.

The so-called Edict of Beersheba, dated to the

year A.D. 534 by Abel,<sup>16</sup> provides the earliest known mention of Ader in a dated document. Between the years 1902 and 1918, eight fragments of a Greek inscription containing parts of this document of Byzantine officialdom came to light. The eighth and last fragment found,<sup>17</sup> which joins the first fragment, contains the name \**Adara*, actually in the genitive, *'Adārōn*. Abel pointed out that this is almost certainly the same as the *\*Adara* mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium and that it is therefore our site between Kerak and Rabbah.<sup>18</sup> The Edict of Beersheba contains lists of sums of money due various imperial garrisons in Palestine, and Ader is mentioned because of the garrison stationed there.<sup>19</sup>

The name "Ader" appears in its unvocalized Arabic form in a twelfth-century biography of Ṣalāḥ ed-Dīn (Saladin) by Abū Ṣāma.<sup>20</sup> In his *kitāb ar-raudatain fī aḥbār ad-daulatain*, this historian, who depends largely on a now-lost work by Ibn Abī Ṭaiy' for his information about Ṣalāḥ ed-Dīn,<sup>21</sup> gives the route taken by the Sultān in his expedition of August, 1184, against Reginald of Châtillon, who was entrenched in the castle at Kerak.<sup>22</sup> According to Abū Ṣāma, the army of the Sultān, with its nine mangonels, came down from the north to Lejjūn, from thence to Ader, and finally to Rabbah, which was used as the base from which the attack against Kerak was launched. Abū Ṣāma thus very neatly locates Ader between Lejjūn and Rabbah.

Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, the first modern traveller to explore Transjordan systematically and record place names, passed Ader in March, 1806. His only comment about "Öddr in Kárrak," as the names appear in the posthumously edited form of

taries," because *d* "must have a personal antecedent," is not convincing. See his *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome, 1955), p. 33, § 6:22.

<sup>12</sup> Oral communication of September 11, 1958.

<sup>13</sup> *Stephanus Byzantinus cum annotationibus L. Holsteni, A. Berkliv, et Th. de Pinedo*, Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> [Ernst] Honigmann, "Stephanos Byzantinos," *Pauly-Wissowa*, 3rd series, Vol. II (Stuttgart, 1929), col. 2369.

<sup>15</sup> F. Gisinger, "Marcianus (Markianos) von Herakleia," *Pauly-Wissowa*, Supplementary vol. VI (Stuttgart, 1935), col. 271.

<sup>16</sup> F.-M. Abel, "Epigraphie du Sud palestinien," *RB*, Vol. 29 (1920), p. 124.

<sup>17</sup> Published by Professor F. C. Burkitt, "Notes on the Greek Inscription from Beersheba," *PEFQS*, January, 1920, pp. 19 f.

<sup>18</sup> F.-M. Abel, "Le fragment VIII de l'edit byzantine de Bersabée," *RB*, Vol. 29 (1920), p. 263.

<sup>19</sup> See Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau, "Supplementary Remarks upon the Greek Inscription from Beersheba," *PEFQS*, October, 1902, pp. 385-388.

<sup>20</sup> Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea, I, Moab* (Vienna, 1907), p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> [Carl] Brockelmann, "Abū Ṣāma," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I (Leiden, 1913), p. 106. See also Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1943), Vol. I, pp. 38 f.

<sup>22</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, 1898), p. 179.

his notes, was that four pillars were visible there.<sup>23</sup> He was apparently referring to the menhirs of Ader, although subsequent travellers report only two or three; in this century, only one (the *sarbût* Ader) remained standing.<sup>24</sup>

While Seetzen's *Reisen* remained unpublished until 1854, John Lewis Burckhardt published his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* in 1822, ten years after his visit to Trans-Jordan. Being first of all an Arabist, Burckhardt devoted most of his efforts to describing the tribal organization of the district of Kerak and the customs of its inhabitants, but he also mentions the names of prominent ruins in the vicinity, including "Addar."<sup>25</sup>

Sir Austen Henry Layard first saw the Ottoman East in 1839, with the stated intention of making his way overland to Ceylon. His earliest travels

remained in note form through his archaeological and diplomatic career until 1887, when he published his notes in two volumes under the title *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*. He passed by the ruins of Ader early in 1840, and the name appears in his book in the spelling now standard.<sup>26</sup>

Three visits to Ader in close succession during the last decade of the nineteenth century are recorded. The first was by Hornstein, who noted the "ruins of Adar" in September, 1895, on his way to Lejjûn with Mr. Forder of the Church Missionary Society.<sup>27</sup> His spelling may represent an attempt to construct a "classical" form.

Alois Musil, who viewed the site in August of the following year, left the first description of it:<sup>28</sup>

"Wir stiegen nicht beim [*sic*] Hirbet ab, sondern bei dem merkwürdigen Sarbût Ader, welcher 150 m nw. von dem [*sic*] eigentlichen Hirbet entfernt ist. Es sind das zwei rohe Steinplatten, 1.35 m breite, 0.40 m dick und fast 4 m hoch, von denen die eine steht, die andere aber abgebrochen ist und ungefähr 10 m weiter nördlich liegt. Den Felsgrund zwischen ihnen hat man abgeplattet und wahrscheinlich als Altarstelle benützt, wie man leicht aus den umherliegenden grossen zerbrochenen Blöcken schliessen kann. Einige Schritte nordnordöstlich führt ein bequemer Gang unter den Felsen, welcher unter dem Altar ausgehöhlt und einen ziemlich grossen Raum bildet. Um die Anlage herum war eine niedrige rohe Umfassungsmauer.

"Von dem Sarbût an fällt die Ebene ein wenig gegen O., steigt aber bald wieder zu einer über 1.5 km langen Anhöhe, welche von NW. nach SO. streicht und die bemerkenswerten starken Ruinen von Ader trägt. Diese sind über 1 km lang, zeigen Reste von starken Befestigungen und weisen Trümmer von wahren Prachtbauten auf. Manche behauene Steine sind 3.2 m lang, 1 m breit und 0.5 m dick. Leider haben Menschenhände die ganze Anlage gründlich zerstört; nur die sehr

<sup>23</sup> Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, ed. Fr. Kruse, et al. (Berlin, 1854), Vol. I, p. 419.

<sup>24</sup> The Arabic word *sarbût*, "upright stone (?)," is apparently a rare word and is not given in any of the dictionaries. The plural, *serâbût*, occurs as part of the place name Serâbût el-Khâdem in Sinai; see Albright, "Exploring in Sinai with the University of California African Expedition," *Bulletin* 109 (February, 1948), pp. 13 ff. The related words *surbiṭa*, "to be long and slender (of a melon)," and *musarbiṭah*, "long and slender," are attested in Arabic literature. *Sarbût* is almost certainly an Aramaic loan word which appears in Syriac as *šabbût*, taken into Arabic with typical resolution of the doubling. The *s* in place of a *š* is not an insurmountable difficulty, since it appears to have happened not infrequently when words were taken into Arabic from Aramaic, possibly in many cases because words from the same root already existed in Arabic with etymological *s* (e.g., Syriac *šebâṭâ*, "straight [hair]," and Arabic *sabṭ*, "of fine stature," i.e. "tall and straight"?).

A word must be said about the problem of meaning in such a borrowing. The Syriac *šabbûtâ* has the meanings "straight (hair)" and "nail, spike." The use of the Arabic words *zibb* or *zubb*, "penis," for standing stones of the same type in various places in southern Transjordan (as Zibb 'Atûf and Zibb Fir'un at Petra) suggests that there was a similar semantic development with the word *sarbût*, especially since words for "staff" or "rod" are used of the male member, as the Arabic word *qaṣīb*.

<sup>25</sup> John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), p. 389: "There are . . . a great number of ruined places in the district, the principal of which are the following: Addar . . ." His visit was during July, 1812. [The *Travels* appeared in an annotated German translation by Wilhelm Gesenius in 1823 under the title *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina, und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*.]

<sup>26</sup> Sir Austen Henry Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia* (London, 1887), Vol. I, p. 99. [An abridgement of the two volumes appeared shortly after Layard's death in 1894.]

<sup>27</sup> C. A. Hornstein, "A Visit to Kerak and Petra," *PEFQS*, April, 1898, p. 97.

<sup>28</sup> A. Musil, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f. In mentioning the site again on p. 369, Musil uses the spelling "Adar." He gives the elevation of Ader as 940 meters (p. 27).

zahlreichen, im Grundriss birnförmigen Zisternen . . . verschont."

Brünnow and Domaszewski recorded the name of the site as "Addir" in their *Die Provincia Arabia*, which describes their travels of 1897 and 1898 in Transjordan.<sup>29</sup> However, in the corrections appended to their second volume, they give "Ader," citing Musil as their authority.<sup>30</sup> They describe the site as a "Dorfruine auf niedrigen Rügeln in einer Talkessel, der im Norden und Westen von höheren Rügeln umrahmt ist."<sup>31</sup> They noted its numerous cisterns and calculated its elevation as about 950 meters above sea level.

An expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea led by W. F. Albright and M. G. Kyle devoted an entire day in March, 1924, to the examination of Khirbet Ader.<sup>32</sup> The building remains were investigated in detail and surface sherds from all parts of the *tell* were studied. Most of the extensive masonry ruins exposed on the main *tell* proved to be Byzantine and Early Arab, as was typical of ruins in Moab. It was evident, on the other hand, that there was older material buried beneath the surface remains, since many potsherds from the Early Bronze Age and Early Iron Age were found on the slopes. The two menhirs mentioned by Musil and others were examined.<sup>33</sup> The one upright monolith, which stood as something of a landmark called *sarbūt Ader*, was estimated to have a height of about fifteen feet (see Plate 20:B; also *Bulletin* 53, Fig. 7 [p. 15]). A third menhir, somewhat broken, was found lying on the ground a little to the west of the others. Between the three monoliths and the modern village (which was built among the ruins of the Byzantine-Arab city), lay the foundations of a temple of curious design, which attracted the attention of the archaeologists immediately. Albright suggested that it was a

Moabite temple, although admitting that the ceramic evidence was not unequivocal.<sup>34</sup> (A reconstruction of the plan of the temple based on notes and a sketch made in 1924 appears in Fig. 8; a photograph of the ruins of the temple is shown on Plate 19:B—the steps are at the extreme right.) About 1.5 m. north of the temple lay a "table of offering," with two circular depressions or hollows on the top surface (see photograph on Plate 19:A).<sup>35</sup> While it was of the greatest interest, not too much about its date or function could be

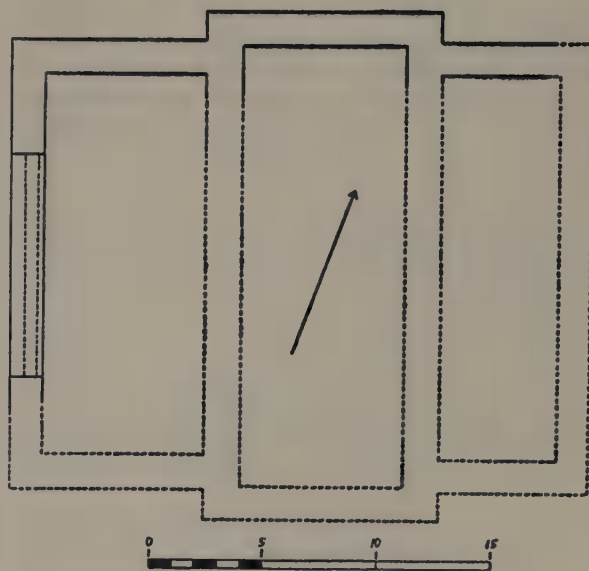


FIG. 8. Plan of ancient temple at Ader (with broken lines indicating reconstruction).

learned. In addition to the three menhirs mentioned above, a fourth monolith, also broken, with dimensions approximately the same as those of the other three, was found lying in the portico (just above the steps) of the temple ruin.<sup>36</sup> This seems to account for all four of the pillars mentioned by Seetzen in his *Reisen* and is a tribute to his accuracy. Members of the expedition also took squeezes and made hand-copies of Byzantine inscriptions dating from the fifth to the seventh centuries; this epigraphic material was turned over to Albrecht Alt, who published it in 1928.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Rudolf Ernst Brünnow and Alfred v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strassburg, 1904), Vol. I, p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II (1905), p. 334.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>32</sup> Albright, "The Archaeological Results of an Expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea," *Bulletin* 14 (April, 1924), pp. 2-12; also Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," *ANNUAL VI* (1926), pp. 56-62; cf. Melvin Grove Kyle, "The Story of Ancient Sodom in the Light of Modern Science," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. LXXXI, No. 323 (July, 1924), pp. 262 f. and 288 f. One of the distinguished members of this expedition was Alexis Mallon, whose description of Ader appeared in "Voyage d'exploration au sud-est de la Mer Morte," *Biblica*, Vol. 5 (1924), p. 453 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Mallon, *op. cit.*, Fig. 28 (p. 452).

<sup>34</sup> *Bulletin* 14, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Mallon *op. cit.*, Fig. 29 (p. 453).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 30 (p. 454).

<sup>37</sup> A. Alt, "Zwölf christliche Grabsteine aus Moab," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. 51 (1928), pp. 218-233.



During one of his earlier campaigns (1933) of surface exploration in "Eastern Palestine," or Transjordan, Nelson Glueck visited Ader. He took measurements of the *maṣṣēbôt*<sup>38</sup> or menhirs and confirmed Albright's ceramic conclusions.<sup>39</sup> "At Ader, which we visited on July 13, and which is eight kilometers northeast of Kerak, there is a Bronze Age sanctuary which was visited by Albright in 1924. . . . Three large monoliths are to be seen northeast of the modern Christian village, being separated from it by a small *wādī*. Between and around the three monoliths we found a small number of sherds belonging to the last phase of Early Bronze and to the first part of Middle Bronze I. The one upright monolith is 4.50 metres high, 40 centimeters thick, and tapering in width from 1.40 metres at its base to one metre at a height of two metres and about 60 centimetres at the top. A little below the center of its eastern face there is a deep groove. Near this menhir are two more lying on the ground. One is 3.80 metres long, 40 centi-

metres thick, and one metre wide. The other menhir has practically the same measurements. The upright menhir at Ader is somewhat similar to the one called Ḥajr Maṣṣūb, which we saw at el-Megheirāt. . . ." <sup>40</sup>

Glueck also noticed four well preserved sections of a Roman-Nabataean frieze, which he dated to the first century A. D. and described as being ornamented with metopes and triglyphs.<sup>41</sup> His photograph of one of the sections<sup>42</sup> shows a metope almost completely filled with a rosette composed of two concentric circles; the outer row has alternating acanthus leaves and split palmettes, while the inner circle appears to be composed exclusively of palmettes with a cluster of anthers in the center.

Glueck's visit to Ader was the last recorded visit made before archaeological soundings were made there in November, 1933. No archaeological investigation of the site has been reported since that time.

<sup>38</sup> The Hebrew word *maṣṣēbāh* (pl. *maṣṣēbôt*) is etymologically equivalent to the Arabic word *nuṣb* (pl. *'anṣāb*), which is discussed in the section on the Conway High Place (note 15, Chapter III).

<sup>39</sup> *Bulletin* 51 (September, 1933), pp. 17 f.

<sup>40</sup> Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I*, ANNUAL XIV, pp. 45-47. *Ḥajr maṣṣūb* simply means "erected rock, standing rock."

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 24 (p. 64).

## CHAPTER V

### SOUNDINGS AT ADER

The archaeological soundings at Khirbet Ader in November, 1933, represent one of the smaller endeavors undertaken that year in the Palestine area.<sup>1</sup> The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem was cooperating with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the Transjordan Department of Antiquities in the work at Ader, as well as in the simultaneous work at Bālû'ah, a short distance north of Ader. Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, Director of the British School, and Mr. George Horsfield, Advisor to the Director of Antiquities in Trans-Jordan, supervised the soundings made at Bālû'ah; Professor W. F. Albright, Director of the American School, and Mr. R. G. Head, Inspector of Antiquities in Transjordan, supervised the work at Ader, assisted by Professor G. R. Berry, Dr. Cyrus Gordon, Mr. Percy Upchurch, and Miss Anne Fuller (during the second week).<sup>2</sup>

Inasmuch as the principal purpose of the expedition to Ader was to excavate the ruins of the temple discovered in 1924, it was a great disappointment for the staff to discover, when it arrived at the site, that the building boom in Ader had resulted in the almost complete destruction of the temple foundations. The stone had been carried off for new houses, and in fact a house now occupied at least part of the site of the temple. The section of wall excavated in the courtyard of this house (Fig. 9) was thought to belong to the temple, but this is not certain. Although the main objective of the expedition was thus frustrated, there was still much to learn about the occupational history of the site. Land claims were taken care of, mostly by Mr. Head, and it was possible to make soundings at almost any desirable point on the *tell* which was not occupied.<sup>4</sup>

Actual digging began on Monday, November 13,

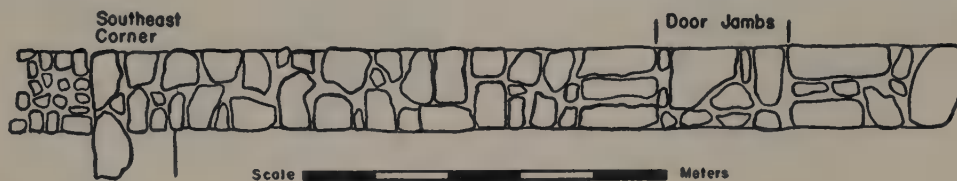


FIG. 9. Wall of unidentified structure.

The expedition to Ader, operating on limited funds, lasted two weeks. Two rooms in a wing of the two-year-old Greek Uniat church were obtained as very satisfactory quarters for the expedition. The larger room was used as workroom and dining hall, while the smaller room served for sleeping. Bread and eggs could be purchased at Ader, and oranges, tomatoes, and some vegetables could be bought in Kerak, so food provisions were no serious problem. The staff was small, but all the members willingly shared in the work.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A list of the sites dug that year is indeed impressive. See Albright, "Excavations During 1933 in Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXXVIII (1934), pp. 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197; Albright, *Bulletin* 53, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrus Gordon, *Adventures in the Nearest East* (Fair Lawn, N. J., 1957), p. 30; *Bulletin* 53, p. 14.

at the northwest corner of the wall which encompasses the main *tell* (Fig. 10). Trenches were begun both inside and outside of the north wall at this point (see Plate 21). The original labor force was limited to 22 men. Most of the pottery sherds found during the first day were from the Arab period, although a few sherds from Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine times were also uncovered. The city wall was discovered to be 2.2 meters wide along the north side, in contrast to a width of 1.6 meters for the west wall.

Four days' work was expended on the corner of the city wall. During the second day's work, a fairly well preserved room, containing exclusively Roman pottery of about the third century, was disclosed just inside the northwest corner of the

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

city. Two walls of this room were formed by the city walls themselves, which is conclusive evidence that the city wall was built before the Byzantine Period. A mass of stone had fallen from the south into the room. Among these stones—all above the pavement of the room—was a Hebrew inscription, probably from the Byzantine Period (a schematic drawing, made from a rubbing of the stone, is shown in Fig. 11). Human bones, including a skull, were just below the inscribed stone. About two meters from these first bones were found more bones, which were discovered to be from a cist burial (see Plate 20:A). This slipper-shaped cist burial contained the bones of a man 1.65 m. in height.

The following morning Mr. Head cleared out the tomb. He found that it had already been robbed, but potsherds provided sufficient evidence to date it. Among the potsherds were pieces of an almost complete Roman bowl of rouletted terra sigillata, three painted Nabataean potsherds, and half of a Roman lamp (see Plate 20). The tomb was covered by the floor of the later room, which dated to the third century A.D., so the burial belongs to the second or early third century. A large slab remained in place over the east end of the burial. The tomb, the room, and the city walls were carefully planned and their levels taken (reproduced in Fig. 10).

Besides the area at the northwest corner of the city wall, the only significant sounding made elsewhere on the main *tell* was at a tower which stood outside the north wall of the city some distance east of the corner described above. Two days, November 20 and 21 (Monday and Tuesday) were spent clearing this tower, which was discovered to have two phases, a late Roman and a Byzantine (plan is shown in Fig. 12; photograph on Plate 19:D). Both the late Roman and Byzantine Periods were represented by sherds found inside the tower. The Roman phase was apparently represented in the structural remains by one course of masonry on the north and west; the west part of this course meets the city wall at a right angle. The later phase is represented by a second course of stone, which coincides vertically with the first course on the eastern part of the north wall of the tower. Toward the west it diverges, so that at the northwest corner of the tower it has a set-back of some 15 cm. from the outside face of the lower course. On the west side of the tower the set-back is between 20 and 25 cm. The second course meets

the city wall at an acute angle. At all points the line between the two courses is clear.

On the inside of the tower, a very crude rubble wall 75 cm. high was found resting on bedrock. Above on the north and south was a fine facing wall of dressed Roman masonry (the facing on the south can be seen in the photograph, Plate 20:D).

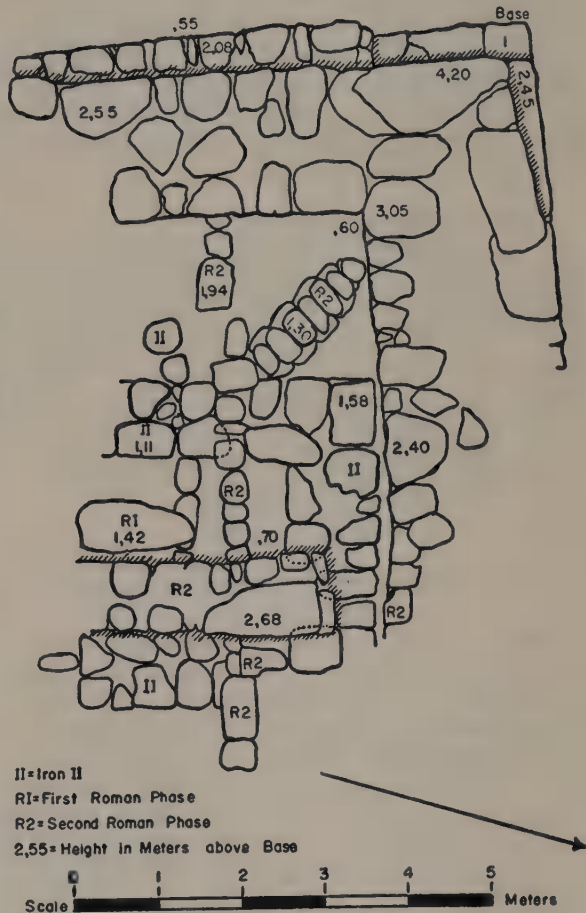


FIG. 10. Complex of walls at northwest corner of city.

The height of the first course at the northeast corner of the tower was 50 cm. The height of the second course was not recorded. The north face of the tower in the middle was 1.6 m. above bedrock. The outer face of the main city wall in the center of the tower was preserved to 1.75 m. above the bottom casing.

The area investigated which proved to be of the greatest significance stratigraphically at Ader was



a trench 4 m. by 10 m. (with the greatest length running east-west) excavated on the low mound to the north of the city. This trench was dug under the supervision of Dr. Gordon during the four days November 15 to 18. The archaeological records of the area were made by Dr. Albright. Because of land claims, Christian Arab peasants had to be employed as workmen within the city, and in the excavations outside the walls, it was necessary to use *bedū* (Bedouin) who were so totally unaccustomed to manual labor that in the time available it proved impossible to get them to work efficiently or to follow instructions. As a result, the records of the soundings on the Early Bronze mound suffered greatly.

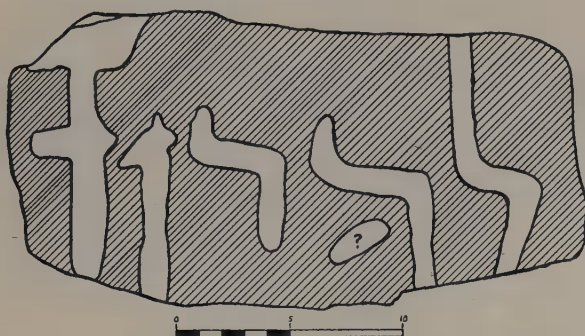


FIG. 11. Drawing of stone with Hebrew inscription.

During the first day's work in the 4 m. by 10 m. trench, fifteen nomad workmen dug down to an average depth of 80 cm. below the surface of the ground, finding a considerable amount of early Middle Bronze Age pottery and uncovering the corner of a house. The walls of the house ran at an angle of about 45° to the sides of the trench, with the inside of the house in the western part of the trench. The outer corner of the house was about 3.7 m. from the west end of the trench. The two walls were about cm. wide and had one course of rocks for foundations, above which there appeared to be traces of mud bricks. The top of the walls were approximately 70 cm. below the surface of the ground. A thick layer of burning covered the area inside the walls; all the debris above this layer of ash was designated as Phase A. The burned layer was also found on the east of the walls, where it was between 95 cm. and 1.1 m. below the surface, except at the eastern end of the trench, where it dropped away with the talus.

The second day's work in the trench took the

excavations below the walls of the house into an earlier level, designated Phase B. This level, which was a little less than 1.5 m. thick, was full of fallen adobe brick with interspersed layers of ash. No more of the rims exemplified by Fig. 13:4 were found in this level, nor were true ledge-handles found during the second day. Work was resumed the third day at an average depth of 1.6 m. below the surface. Older pottery styles were found, including wavy ledge-handles. During the

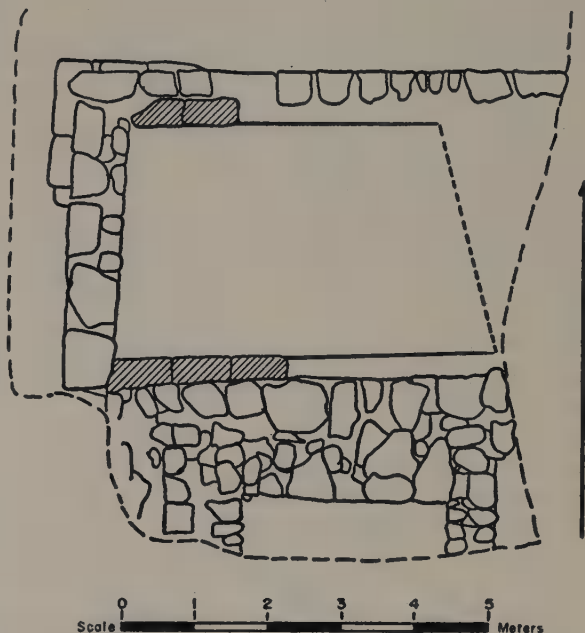


FIG. 12. Roman tower on north city wall (shading indicates facing stones).

morning a mud-brick wall with one course of bricks was uncovered. It had a thick coat of plaster and a foundation of small stones. A large quantity of ash was found at one point along the south side of the trench.

In the fourth and last day spent in this trench, undisturbed yellow clay was reached at an average depth of 2.7 m. The lowest level, Phase C, was very thin and contained solely Early Bronze Age sherds, including rims of the type represented by Fig. 14:12, as well as wavy ledge-handles. The total period represented in the trench was estimated at perhaps three centuries, running from about the 22nd to the 19th century B. C.

At least one day, Monday, November 20, was spent digging what was thought to be the south

wall of the nearly destroyed temple or sanctuary on the northwest slope of the smaller *tell*. This operation had of necessity to be carried out in the courtyard of Mohammed 'Odetallah's house. Nothing of much significance, unfortunately, was found to aid in the reconstruction of the temple plan—assuming this wall belonged to it—or to help in dating the structure.

The last three days of the archaeological work at Ader were mostly devoted to a shallow pit on the small *tell*. The director's attention had been called to this unlikely spot by the helpful Bedouin Mohammed 'Odetallah, who asserted that he and others had seen a long flame of fire shoot from the

pit like a flash of lightning on more than one occasion.<sup>5</sup> The pit proved to be a vertical shaft three meters square providing access to a cave which had been used as a group-tomb. Part of the rock forming the cave roof above the doorway had fallen in, but with its removal, entrance to the cave became possible. Considerable quantities of Early Bronze Age pottery, all belonging to Phase C of the large trench, were found in the bottom of the vertical shaft. A smaller quantity of sherds had seeped into the cave from the broken roof. The tomb was clearly used for burial in the Early Bronze Age. Several flint knives were also among the debris at the bottom of the tomb shaft.

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<sup>5</sup> For the full account of an amusing incident connected with the clearing of the "pit" see Gordon's *Adventures in the Nearest East*, pp. 31-34. [This book is a revised

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and enlarged form of Gordon's earlier book, *The Living Past* (London, 1941), which also has the story.]

## CHAPTER VI

### THE POTTERY FROM ADER

The pottery recovered by the expedition to Ader and subsequently drawn, photographed and studied comes from the end of the Early Bronze Age, the beginning of Middle Bronze I, and the Roman-Nabataean Period. Early Iron Age sherds were reported by the 1924 Expedition, and Iron II examples were found during the soundings of 1933, particularly in association with the city wall at the northwest corner,<sup>1</sup> but none of these were recorded or studied for publication. The Early-Middle Bronze pottery has been separated into three phases, based on the rough stratigraphy of the large trench on the smaller *tell*. For the sake of easy reference, the description of the potsherds follows the order of the plates; as a result, the drawings are discussed in a group first, while the photographs are discussed in a second group.

#### Figure 13

The sherds on Figure 13 come from the large trench on the north *tell*. It should be pointed out that the phases are only general and that there may easily be some overlapping, as is true of nearly every excavation. Phase A (Nos. 1-12, Fig. 13) belongs to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, i. e., Stratum H at Tell Beit Mirsim. All examples of this phase were found within 90 cm. of the surface of the ground. Phase B (nos. 13-19) belongs to the very beginning of Middle Bronze I and corresponds generally with Stratum I at Tell Beit Mirsim.

1. Reddish, gritty ware; red slip; vertical burnishing; rim diameter ca. 30 cm.
2. Hole-mouth jar; two grooves below rim; band of rope decoration; light reddish-buff; white grits; brownish-red slip, burnished.
3. Description as no. 1 above; rim diameter ca. 48 cm. (?).
4. Rim of bowl with groove on outside; dark buff clay, well levigated; red slip worn; vertical burnishing on inside; rim diameter ca. 34 cm.
5. Coarse dark grey ware; buff slip, white grits on surface; row of sharp notches.

<sup>1</sup> Albright reports that both the Roman and Iron II walls at the northwest corner of the city were dated by sherds.

6. Bowl rim; buff ware; large grey grits; reddish-brown slip horizontally burnished outside; fragment too small to determine diameter.
7. Brick-red ware; rich red slip, worn inside and out; rim diameter ca. 28 cm.
8. Reddish-brown ware, small grey grits; red slip, wheel-burnished on outside; rim diameter ca. 28 cm.
9. Brick-red ware; red slip; rim diameter 32 cm.
10. Coarse red to grey ware; light grey wash; rim diameter 26 cm.
11. Red ware; rich red slip on outside; irregular burnishing; rim diameter 12 cm.
12. Hard, light red ware; white grits; light buff surface; rim diameter 18 cm.
13. Storage jar; reddish-buff clay; characteristic EB ware; light red slip, burnished. Cf. *TBM IA* (ANNUAL XIII), Pl. 2:2-4, p. 63, where greyish-buff ware is usual, reddish-buff rare; also *Lachish IV*, Pl. 67.
14. Grey ware; gritty; grey surface; rim diameter ca. 26 cm.
15. Bowl, greyish-buff ware; grey grits; red slip on inside; inner diameter of rim, ca. 50 cm.
16. Buff ware with grey grits; red slip, burnished. Cf. Jericho, *AAA XIX*, Pl. III:9, which is not quite the same; also Level III, *AAA XXII*, Pl. XXVIII:23; *TBM IA*, Pl. 4:9, form very similar; *Lachish IV*, Pl. 68:507, and p. 178.
17. Buff ware; grey grits; red slip; rim diameter ca. 20 cm.
18. Bowl with flat, finger-pressed relief band; coarse buff ware; red slip; rim diameter ca. 37 cm.
19. Jar; drab, gritty ware; reddish surface; raised combing; blackened from fire on outside; notched decoration on rim; rim diameter ca. 28 cm.

#### Figure 14

All the sherds in Fig. 14 belong to Phase B (very beginning of MB I, about 21st century B. C.) and were found during the second and third days of working in the large trench on the north mound.

1. Bowl; greyish to light-brown ware; coarse, hand-made; small white grits; coarse, greyish-buff surface; very flat band applied on outside; finger impressions at rim; rim diameter ca. 38 cm.
2. Red ware; grey grits; reddish surface; blackened from fire on outside; inner diameter of rim ca. 18 cm.
3. Light red ware; grey grits; red slip outside; rim diameter ca. 10 cm.
4. Red ware, white grits; rich red slip; irregular criss-cross burnishing; inner diameter of rim 12 cm.



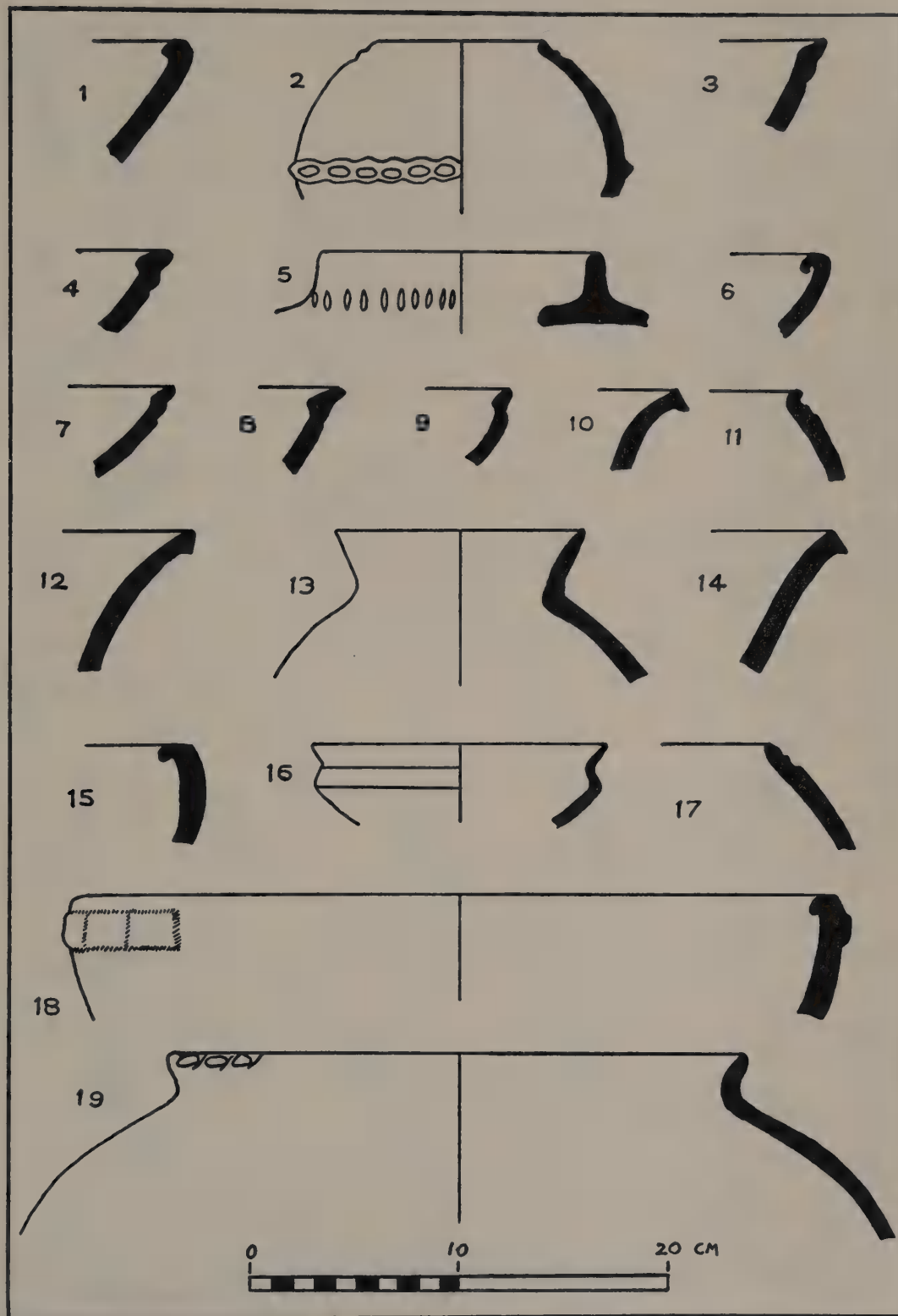


FIG. 13.

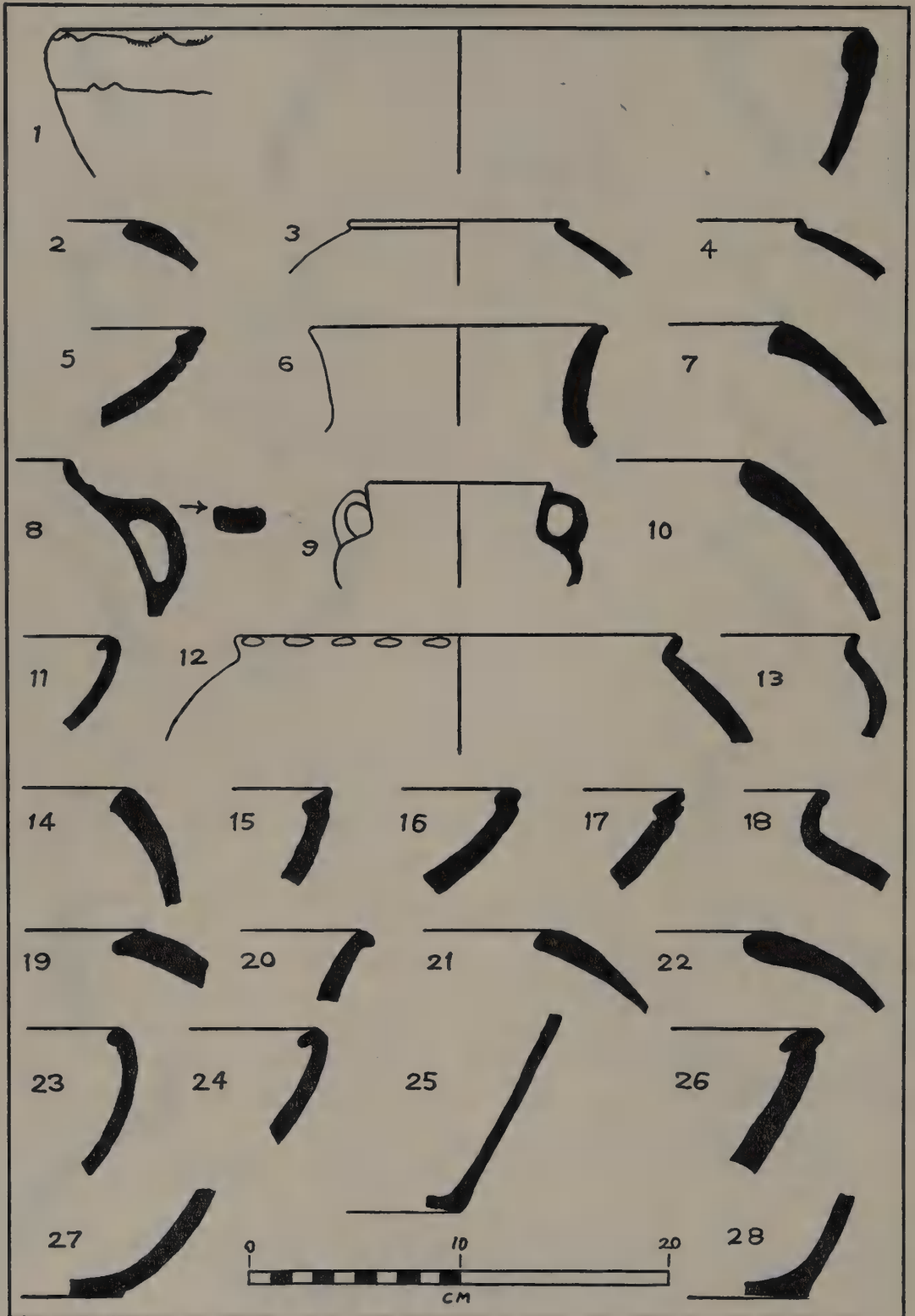


FIG. 14.

5. Reddish-buff ware; white grits; red slip; worn traces of burnishing; rim diameter 24 cm.
6. Neck of jar; light buff ware; grey grits; buff surface; rim diameter 14 cm.
7. Coarse brownish-buff ware, gritty; buff surface; smoked on outside; inner rim diameter 20 cm.
8. Jar; grooved below rim; buff ware; red slip; burnishing on outside; rim diameter 16 cm.
9. Buff ware; buff surface; rim diameter 9 cm.
10. Coarse reddish-brown ware; dark grey grits; smoked surface; rim diameter 14 cm.
11. Dark buff ware; minute black grits; red surface; traces of dark red slip on inside, worn and originally burnished centripetally; rim diameter ca. 22 cm. Cf. Bâb eq-Drâ', *Bulletin* 95, Pl. 1:29 (p. 5).
12. Coarse grey ware; buff towards interior; large grits; moulding at edge of rim; rim diameter 22 cm. Cf. *Lachish IV*, Pl. 66:414, pp. 42 and 171.
13. Reddish-drab; gritty ware; red surface; traces of red slip; wheel-combing on outside; rim diameter 9.6 cm. (?). Cf. *TBM IA*, Pl. 4:2.
14. Dark grey ware; buff surface; large white grits, showing also on surface; rim diameter ca. 30 cm.
15. Buff gritty ware; red slip; burnished; rim diameter ca. 28 cm.
16. Buff, gritty ware; brownish-red slip on inside; rim diameter 36 cm.
17. Brick-red ware; white grits; pink slip, burnished inside and out; rim diameter ca. 32 cm.
18. Coarse reddish-buff ware; large grits; wide combing on shoulder; slight moulding on edge of rim.
19. Grey to brownish ware; gritty buff surface, smoked on outside; inner rim diameter 26 cm.
20. Reddish-buff, gritty ware; red slip, burnished inside and out; rim diameter 18 cm.
21. Hole-mouth cooking pot; brick-red ware; large grey grits; surface reddish-buff inside; outside surface drab and smoked; inner rim diameter ca. 17 cm.
22. Hole-mouth jar, coarse brick-red ware; some grits; surface red inside, reddish-drab outside; inner rim diameter ca. 19 cm.
23. Red ware; large grits; dark red slip, horizontally burnished on outside, inside worn; rim diameter 34 cm.
24. Bowl; grey to buff ware; large grey and white grits; greyish buff surface; traces of burnished slip (probably red) on inside and on rim.
25. Brownish red ware; drab surface; partly smoked from fire; base diameter 22 cm.
26. Greyish-drab ware; red slip, burnished; rim diameter ca. 40 cm. Cf. *TBM IA*, Pl. 1:9 and p. 62:2.
27. Gritty buff ware; red slip and burnishing on inside; base diameter ca. 20 cm.
28. Well levigated, hard grey ware; minute white and

large grey grits; reddish-buff surface; base diameter 20 cm.

### Figure 15

The pottery shown in Fig. 15 is a group of miscellaneous sherds from various parts of Khirbet Ader and from various periods. The exact provenience of some of the sherds was not recorded. At least two of the sherds (17 and 22) are from Phase C in the large trench; these, together with the four sherds photographed on Plate 19: C, represent all of the distinctive fragments found belonging to that phase.

1. Bowl; buff ware; grey and brown grits; surface light red inside, buff outside; rim diameter ca. 54 cm.
2. (Large trench on north) Neck fragment of jar; well levigated, hard grey ware; greyish-drab surface; rim diameter ca. 14 cm.; stance uncertain. Cf. Jericho, *AAA XXII*, Pl. XXVIII:1, 2, etc., Stratum III, Tomb A.
3. Rim of flat-shouldered jar; buff ware; grey grits; surface red inside, reddish-buff outside; inner rim diameter ca. 16 cm.
4. (Roman tomb) Bowl; red ware, not baked through (inner half of section is grey); red, smooth surface with visible wheel marks.
5. (Surface) Red ware; white grits; red slip, worn, burnished vertically inside and out, horizontally on rim; diameter of rim 36 cm.
6. Red ware, grey in center; reddish-grey surface; rim diameter ca. 24 cm.
7. Reddish-buff ware; dark red slip, burnished; rim diameter 34 cm.
8. Coarse red ware; dark grey grits; red surface, worn; rim diameter ca. 50 cm.
9. Bowl; light reddish-brown ware; grey grits; traces of red slip, worn, inside and outside; some traces of burnishing; rim diameter ca. 36 cm.
10. Buff ware; rich red slip; burnished; rim diameter ca. 32 cm.
11. (Large trench on north) Neck fragment of large jar; sandy, reddish-buff ware; rim diameter ca. 34 cm.; stance uncertain.
12. Dark grey ware, gritty; buff to grey surface; rim diameter 20 cm.
13. Coarse reddish-buff ware; rich, dark red slip inside and partly on outside; burnished on inside; diameter of rim 34 cm.
14. Red gritty ware; red surface; rim diameter 12.4 cm.
15. Buff ware; large grey grits; reddish-buff surface; rim diameter 12 cm.
16. (In entrance shaft to burial cave) Hand-turned; base pared away with knife; paste brick-red, uniformly baked, with small grits; diameter 8.7 cm.
17. (Cave shaft) Gritty clay, hand-made; diameter 32 cm. This sherd belongs to Phase C.
18. (No description) This piece seems to belong to a genre of circular flasks which were used over several

\* The *TBM* sherd referred to was "originally covered with a burnished red slip, [and] illustrates the typical form of bowls with inverted rims in EB II-III . . ." Stratigraphically it is certain only that this sherd antedates Stratum G, but typologically, Albright assigns it to Stratum J. If this is correct, it suggests that some of Phase B at Ader may go back into the Early Bronze Age.



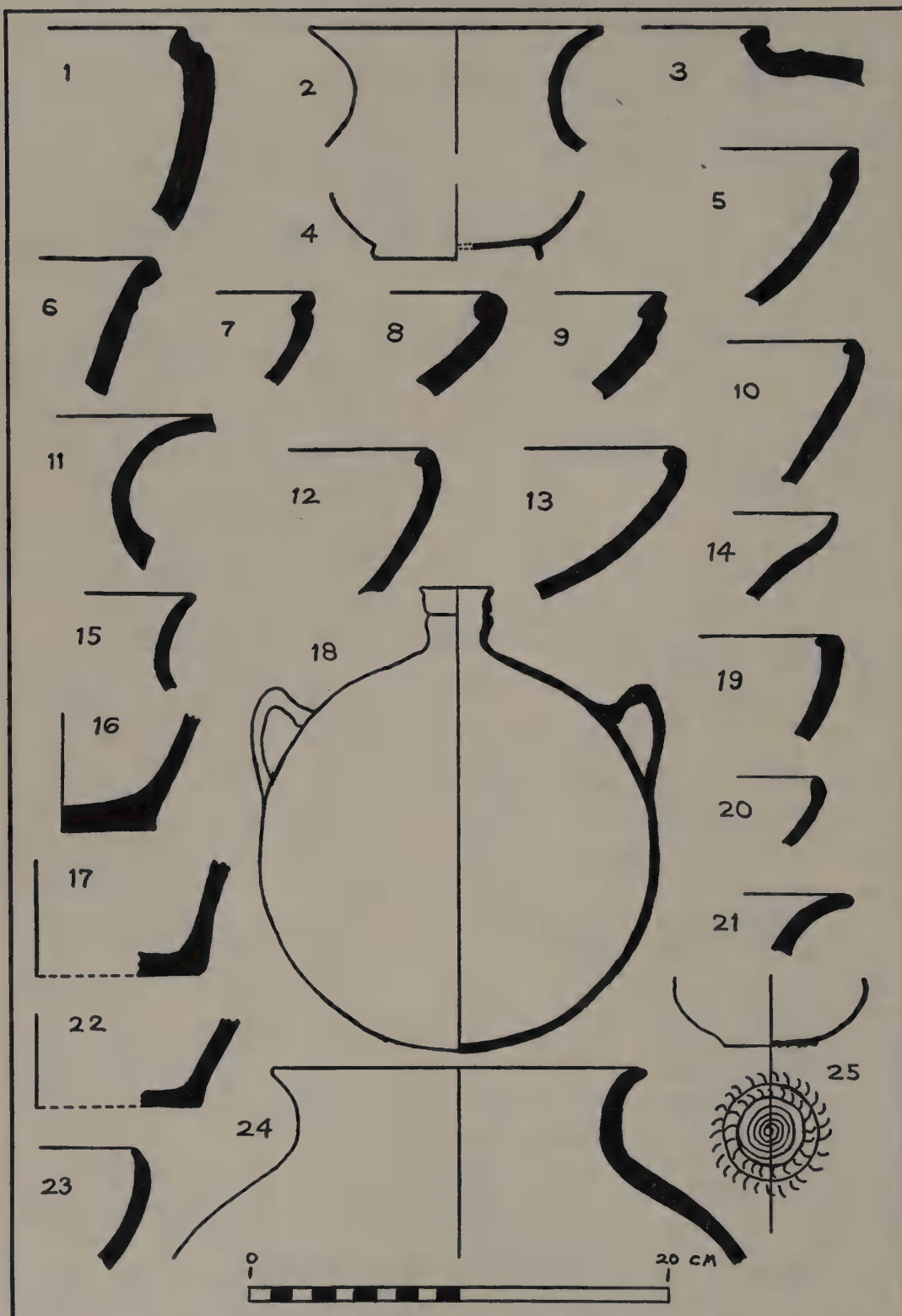


FIG. 15.

centuries in all parts of the Roman Empire.<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ain Shems*, IV, Pl. LXVIII:1, 5 (but handles are attached to neck and the neck lacks the curved profile); also Petra, *QDAP*, Vol. IX, Pl. XXVI:202, lower center (which again has handles attached to the neck).

19. Buff ware; grey grits; light brown slip, horizontally burnished on outside and on top of rim; rim diameter 28 cm.
20. Buff ware; gray grits; red slip, burnished centripetally on inside and horizontally on outside; rim diameter 24 cm.
21. Reddish-drab ware, grey in center; red surface; wheel marks visible on outside; rim diameter 22 cm.
22. (Cave shaft) Baked nearly through; less gritty than no. 17; diameter 32 cm. This sherd belongs to Phase C.
23. Drab to grey ware; minute white grits; coarse buff to drab surface; inner rim diameter 33 cm.
24. (Cave shaft) Brick-red, gritty paste; buff exterior surface; hand-turned and finished; outside rim diameter ca. 18 cm.
25. Roman-Nabataean bowl; imitation sigillata ware; lustrous red surface; sharp raised spiral and rouletting on base; rouletting at spring of body; rim broken away. Photograph, Plate 20:C; no. 5.

#### Plate 22: A

The sherds on Plate 22: A all belong to Phase B, i. e., belong mostly to the 21st century B. C. All the examples are hand-made unless otherwise stated. The folded ledge-handles (nos. 10-12) are later than Megiddo Stage I<sup>4</sup> and belong to *TBM* Stratum I.<sup>5</sup> (In all the photographs, the sherds are numbered from left to right, beginning in the top row.)

1. Inverted rim, 9 mm. thick; centripetally burnished inside, horizontally on rim and outside rim; irregularly hand burnished outside; light red slip inside and on rim, brown outside; ware pink (inside) to brown (outside), fairly well levigated.
2. Grey to brownish-red, inside and outside; 10 mm. thick; gritty core; cooking pot.
3. Dark grey all through; 12 mm. thick; moderately gritty.
4. Dark grey inside and in core; 13 mm. thick; dark grey to pink-buff slip.
5. Wall of jug; 8 mm. thick; pinkish-buff surface; vestigial ledge-handle, pushed up, thumb impression (wheel-made?).

<sup>3</sup> See R. J. Charleston, *Roman Pottery* (London, 1955), Plate 26, for an example from Spain made in the first century A. D.

<sup>4</sup> Robert M. Engberg and Geoffrey M. Shipton, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1934), p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> See *TBM I* (ANNUAL XII), Plate 3:38, 40, and p. 12.

6. Red ware; 11 mm. thick; dark grey core; light grey slip outside; burned on inside and outside.
7. Inverted rim of bowl with ridges outside rim; surface worn, traces of red slip outside; average thickness 8-10 mm. Cf. Jericho, *PEQ*, 1952, Fig. 5:16 (p. 77).
8. Wall of jug, similar to no. 5; 8 mm. thick; buff surface and core; slightly gritty; traces of burnished red slip outside; vestigial pushed-up ledge-handles.
9. Spout (no top); creamy-buff surface and core; moderately gritty; traces of burnished red slip; average thickness 7-8 mm.
10. Light red; moderately gritty; no slip; folded ledge-handles; 6-7 mm. thick.
11. Similar to no. 10; buff surface and core; slightly gritty; 9 mm. thick.
12. Similar to nos. 10, 11; comb-faced; buff outside to dark grey inside; moderately gritty.

#### Plate 22: B

The sherds on Plate 22: B came from the entrance shaft to the Early Bronze Age burial cave or tomb excavated near the end of the campaign at Ader. They correspond to Phase C of the large trench on the small mound and to Stratum J at Tell Beit Mirsim.

1. Partly-folded ledge-handle (Engberg and Shipton's form AA);<sup>6</sup> brownish-buff, coarse paste; wall 5-8 mm. thick; light surface.
2. Pushed-up ledge-handle; wall of pot 5-7 mm. thick; brick-red, coarse paste; buff surface.<sup>7</sup>
3. Pushed-up ledge-handle; similar to no. 1 in color, no. 2 in shape; average thickness of wall 8 mm.; broken in half.
4. Pipe spout (photographed from above); end of lip broken; open top; belongs to bowl; rim diameter about 25 cm.; exterior reddish-buff; interior dark grey; coarse paste.
5. Brownish-buff surface and core; thickness of wall ca. 6 mm.
6. Jar with flaring neck (photographed on side); reddish-brown core; smoked exterior; four vertical, incised strokes, made before baking (the same marks were found on a jar with flaring mouth from Phase B); thickness of wall varies from 4 to 10 mm.

#### Plate 23: A

The Bronze Age sherds on Plate 23: A come from Phase B in the large trench (no. 1), a small trench, the exact location of which was not recorded (no. 2), and the surface of the tell (nos.

<sup>6</sup> C. S. Fisher had suggested the term "pressed-in ledge-handle" for this form, according to Albright's notes.

<sup>7</sup> This is Engbert and Shipton's form B (*op. cit.*, p. 13) and occurs in Stages I-IV (see their chart).

3-6). The thumb-impressed ledge-handle (no. 1) raises a problem, since according to Engbert and Shipton this form did not occur at Megiddo later than Stage IV, if our identification is correct. At Bâb eḏ-Drâ' (*Bulletin* 95, p. 11, Plate 3:26), a ledge-handle of similar appearance was found, although on a pot without thumb-impressions, which Albright indicates is the latest ledge-handle found on the site, i. e., about the 21st century B. C. He calls this type "pushed-up scalloped."

1. Wall of large bowl; outer edge of rim thumb-indented; band of thumb-impressions below; scalloped (thumb-impressed) ledge-handle below band; paste is coarse, dark grey; creamy-grey slip; thickness of wall varies from 10 to 15 mm.
2. Wall of high bowl; exterior slip creamy to buff in color; dark grey core, nearly black; coarse ware; thickness of wall 12 to 16 mm.
3. Fragment of bowl; coarse, brick-red surface and core; obliquely thumb-impressed outside of rim; wide, lightly thumb-impressed combing below handles; rim diameter 44 cm.
4. Brick-red surface and core; very coarse paste; thumb-impressed rim; outside combed.
5. Bowl; buff paste and surface; plain ledge-handle.
6. Shape similar to no. 4, but with thinner rim; surface and core yellowish-buff; very coarse; rim and band below thumb-impressed.

#### Plate 23: B

The sherds on Plate 23: B are from the large trench on the small *tell* and belong to Phase B, i. e., Middle Bronze I, or according to Kathleen Kenyon's terminology, EB-MB.<sup>8</sup>

1. Half of folded ledge-handle from small vase; coarse, buff ware; average thickness of wall 6 mm.

<sup>8</sup> Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Some Notes on the History of Jericho in the Second Millennium B. C." *PEQ*, July-October, 1951, p. 106, note 1: "The term [M. B. II] was here [in Garstang's earlier Jericho reports] used to distinguish it from the E. B. III-IV pottery which at that time was called M. B. I [by Garstang, who had not yet recovered any stratified remains of the German *Spät-kanaanitisch*—Miss Kenyon's E. B.-M. B.]. Since that date, Albright has used the term [i. e. M. B. I] to describe the pottery found at Tell Beit Mirsim Level H, and his nomenclature has been generally followed. This pottery undoubtedly belongs to an intrusive culture, datable to about the Twenty-first and Twentieth centuries B. C., which is quite distinct from both the E. B., and the M. B. of Palestine. It seems to me to be far more satisfactory to call this E. B.-M. B. and to reserve the term M. B. I for the very distinctive pottery, contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, which appears in Tell Beit Mirsim G, and definitely represents the start of an era. I shall use it in this sense. M. B. II in the Jericho reports covers my M. B. I and II

2. Bowl; dark grey core; light bright-red near surface; fairly fine paste; wall thickness 8-10 mm.; rim diameter ca. 30 cm.
3. Upper part of large jar of hole-mouth type, with added flaring neck placed on top of original rim (similar in form to Fig. 13:5); coarse paste; originally covered with thick, burnished red slip.
4. Bowl fragment; introverted rim; coarse paste; radial (centripetal) burnishing inside; irregular burnishing outside; red to brownish-buff slip. Cf. Fig. 14:11.
5. Fragment of bowl with inverted rim (?); reddish-buff ware with large grits; reddish-buff slip, both sides; burnishing in strongly marked strokes, rather wide apart: on inside, horizontally below broken off rim, and centripetally (radially) on rest of inside surface, on outside, irregular horizontal burnishing.
6. Fragment of bowl with horizontal inverted rim; light buff paste with large black grits; rich dark red slip on inside and on top of rim; close burnishing of fine strokes on rim and radial burnishing of widely spaced strokes on inside; applied rope on outside just below edge of rim with very regular and carefully executed finger indentations; rather large diameter, but fragment too small to establish it; wall thickness 8 mm.
7. Flaring neck of large jar; hard ware, outside half of section grey, inside half reddish-buff; dark grey grits; coarse brick-red surface showing white grits; overhanging, sharp-edged rim; flat finger impressions below rim limited by sharp edge toward shoulder; rim diameter 21 cm.
8. Neck of large jar; shape almost cylindrical (top slightly inclined inwards passing out into flaring rim); neck made separately and set into shoulder; wide, sharp combing on cylindrical part of neck; flat indentations on outside of rim and on shoulder; coarse buff ware with many grits; rim diameter 20 cm.
9. Fragment of spouted jar; light reddish-brown ware with very large white and grey grits; coarse, dark buff surface, smoked at rim (outside); finger impressions on edge of rim; spout oblique (i. e., pointed upwards).

#### Plate 24: A

The sherds on Plate 24: A are from Stratum B of the large trench on the small north *tell*.

throughout, whether M. B. I is used in the earlier sense or whether, as in the later reports, used in Professor Albright's sense."

While Miss Kenyon's new terminology has not yet been widely accepted, the publication of the Early and Middle Bronze Age pottery from her six campaigns at Tell es-Sultân (Jericho) may show the merits of her term "E. B.-M. B." The refined methods of digging used by the British School of Archaeology in the most recent series of campaigns at Jericho promise to provide the best stratigraphic sequence of Early Bronze Age pottery available for Palestine.



1. Pushed-up ledge-handle; reddish-buff ware; grey grits; buff to drab surface.
2. Pushed-up ledge-handle; brownish-buff ware; few grits; light red surface.
3. Fragment of shoulder of vase; greyish-buff ware; small dark grey grits; red slip; vertical burnishing; row of deep impressions made by a sharp stick below spring of neck; vestigial ledge-handle (for decorative purpose only) below.
4. Fragment of rim of steep walled, open pot with turning-out, flat rim; shallow moulded decoration (scales wide apart); grey ware; dark grey grits.
5. Short cylindrical spout, just below rim of vessel; the spout is coarsely modelled, slanting slightly downwards; light red ware and surface; minute white and grey grits; rim turning out.
6. Fragment of bowl with inverted rim; parallel grooves on outside; brown ware; occasional light grey grits; red slip, burnished horizontally inside and outside, partly worn.
7. Fragment of bowl with profile similar to Fig. 15:7; sharp, parallel combing on outside; buff ware; grey grits; red slip; traces of radial burnishing inside.
8. Fragment of jar; irregular net burnishing; buff ware; grey grits; brownish-red slip.
9. Fragment of disk made from jar fragment; well bored hole, bored from both sides, very smoothly; greyish-buff ware; grey grits.
10. Fragment of bowl; well levigated brownish-grey ware; red slip on both inside and outside; radial burnishing inside; irregular horizontal burnishing outside (photograph shows outside surface).
11. Fragment of jar; buff ware; grey grits; red slip outside; vestigial ledge-handle decoration (pushed-up and regularly thumb-indented); horizontal burnishing below handle.

#### Plate 24:B

The fourteen sherds on Plate 24:B come from Phase A in the large trench on the north *tell* and are all clearly within Middle Bronze I (i. e., Kenyon's EB-MB).

1. Rim of wide-mouthed pot with shoulder sloping inwards and without neck ("hole-mouth"), recognizable from the stance and from the surface which is smooth on the outside and very rough on the inside; clay is light brown with grits; outside surface was originally covered with red slip now almost completely worn off; two parallel grooves, upper deep, lower shallow, and a row of impressions made by a stick for decoration.
2. Fragment of bowl with inverted rim and parallel grooves on outside; yellowish-buff ware with small grits; red slip inside and outside (traces).
3. Fragment of bowl with inverted rim and two parallel grooves on outside; reddish-buff ware with grey grits; rich dark red slip inside and outside, worn; parallel horizontal burnishing on outside, perhaps originally also inside.
4. Fragment of pot with very short, flaring neck (similar in profile to Fig. 14:12, which is from

Phase B); indentations made with sharp edge on top of rim (at right angle to it); irregular, wavy groove incised with a thin stick below neck; reddish-buff paste with white and grey grits; reddish-buff surface, wet-smoothed on outside, unsmoothed on inside.

5. Fragment of bowl; inverted and slightly everted rim; flat topped; two very shallow parallel grooves on top of rim; wide, shallow horizontal groove and regular wavy groove on outside; buff to light grey ware with small black grits; rich dark red slip inside and outside; radial burnishing on inside.
6. Rim of hole-mouth pot (with profile very similar to Fig. 13:11); parallel grooves on outside; greyish-buff with black grits; reddish-brown slip on inside, mostly worn off; very coarse inside surface.
7. Fragment of very shallow bowl; buff ware with grey grits; red slip, burnished radially inside and horizontally (irregular strokes) on outside (photograph shows outside surface).
8. Fragment of bowl; buff ware with grey and black grits; dark red slip, burnished radially inside and irregularly (mostly horizontal strokes) on outside (photograph shows inside surface).
9. Fragment of jar; reddish-buff clay; very large white grits; red surface; moulded scale-decoration.
10. Fragment of jar; red ware, grey in center of section; white and grey grits; yellowish-grey slip; moulded scale-decoration.
11. Fragment of shoulder of large jar; moulded finger indentations (quite irregular); yellowish-buff ware; white and grey grits; light red surface; wet smoothed (finger impressions visible).
12. Fragment of jar (?); buff ware and surface; large dark grey grits; coarse raised combing; inside surface very coarse and uneven; thickness 8 mm.
13. Vestigial ledge-handle, pushed-up and thumb-indented; reddish-buff ware; large white and grey grits; light red to buff surface; thickness of wall 13 mm.
14. Fragment of pot with vestigial ledge-handle, thumb-indented; red ware with white grits; red to drab surface with raised combing.

#### Plate 19:C

The four sherds from Phase C of the north trench illustrated on Plate 19:C are to be dated somewhere near the end of the Early Bronze Age.

1. Fragment of bowl with turned-in rim; buff ware; few grey grits; red slip on both inside and outside; radial burnishing inside (shown in photograph); irregular criss-cross burnishing outside.
2. Fragment of bowl with turned-in rim; reddish-buff ware; grey grits; rich red slip on both inside and outside; horizontally burnished inside and outside (photograph shows inside).
3. Fragment of bowl with turned-in rim; dark brownish-grey ware; white and grey grits; dark brownish-grey slip with irregular, close criss-cross burnishing on both sides (photograph shows outside surface).

4. Bottom fragment of pot with flat base; red to grey ware; gritty; buff to grey surface with sharp, raised combing.

### Plate 20:C

A small selection of the pottery indicating Roman-Nabataean occupation at Ader are presented on Plate 20:C. None of the pieces shown is pre-Christian, and the fourth century is the latest date which can be assigned to any of these examples.

1. This half of a lamp is closely paralleled by a complete lamp found by the Horsfields in unstratified deposit at Petra,<sup>9</sup> although our lamp has a slightly broader spout and the oil-hole seems to be a little farther forward. The moulded decorations are essentially the same, and there are the same rough concentric lines around the oil-hole. They assign this to Broneer, type XXVIII, and date it, along with a similar lamp with Christian marking,<sup>10</sup> to the fourth century A.D. The lamps of this date and type are apparently a development of the better lamps of earlier date shown by Murray and Ellis.<sup>11</sup>
2. The complete lamp belongs to Sellers and Baramki's Type V, which is apparently a development of their Type III.<sup>12</sup> The general form, large oil-hole, and ridge around the oil-hole of our lamp are very much like their Type V example, but ours has a moulded design on the margin which theirs seems to lack. Sellers and Baramki state that Type V "may be dated in the 4th or early 5th century A.D."<sup>13</sup> We have no evidence for dating ours differently.
3. The miniature bottle or "unguentarium" is representative of a group of pottery pieces found in large number in the valley of Petra and on other Nabataean sites. A slightly different type was found at the Conway High Place (Plate 17:A); it seems to be from the second or third century A.D. This plainer, unribbed type has not been found in a datable context, but must belong somewhere in the first four centuries of the Christian Era.
4. Possibly some sort of seal.
5. Same Roman-Nabataean bowl as drawn in Fig. 15: 25. Probably first or second century A.D.
6. Half of top of lamp; moulded design around small oil-hole. The design seems to have been an eight-pointed star, outside of which are two rope decorations. The small hole and the rather flat top is

somewhat suggestive of Broneer, Type IX, but the Corinth lamps in that group are all plain.

7. A sherd of Nabataean-red ware from a small pot.
- 8-10. Sherds of thin Nabataean painted ware, belonging to first, second, or early third centuries A.D. (see discussion of dating in Chapter II, under heading "shallow bowls"). The motifs, in reddish-brown paint, are of the very commonest types. The Horsfields' publication of Petra pottery affords ready parallels.<sup>14</sup>

### Summary and Conclusions

On the basis of the pottery evidence, it can be stated that Ader was first occupied about, or a little before, the 22nd century B.C. This period of occupation, to which the four menhirs almost certainly belong, continued down into the 19th century B.C. or thereabouts. A long gap followed, lasting until about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. The 1933 soundings did not investigate the Iron Age occupation, presumably Moabite, beyond the traces of it at the northwest corner of the city wall, but it apparently did not endure long. The expansion of the Nabataean civilization brought a new period of building, and the city seems to have continued to grow throughout the Roman period into Byzantine times. The final decline of Ader occurred, as in other places on the edge of the Syrian Desert, soon after the fall of the Omayyad Dynasty. There is no known evidence of another revival until the twenties of the present century, when security conditions became greatly improved under the British administration.

Although a thorough investigation of the remains of the temple to the north of the main *tell* at Ader had been one of the principal objectives of the expedition, that aim was frustrated by modern building activities which had changed the whole face of the area and destroyed most of the temple foundations. As it was, so little remained of the sanctuary in 1933 that no dependable date for the structure could be arrived at. Preliminary reports made by Albright, Kyle, and Mallon had variously referred to it as a Canaanite, Early

<sup>9</sup> G. and A. Horsfield, "Sela-Petra, the Rock, of Edom and Nabatene: the Finds," *QDAP*, Vol. IX (1941), p. 114, and Plate VI: no. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate VI: no. 125.

<sup>11</sup> M. A. Murray and J. C. Ellis, *A Street in Petra* (London, 1940), Plate XXXVI: 15 and 18, see also p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> O. R. Sellers and D. C. Baramki, *A Roman-Byzantine Burial Cave in Northern Palestine*, in *Bulletin, Supplementary Studies*, Nos. 15-16. For Type V, see Fig. 38 (p. 36); for Type III, see Fig. 36 (p. 35).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> G. and A. Horsfield, *op. cit.* Our rim-sherd of painted ware could belong to a plate such as the sherd in *QDAP*, IX, Plate XXXIII, no. 296 represents; this is described (p. 168) as a "large piece of rim of a painted plate, 18 cm. in diameter, with a trefoil leaf in dark red on a pale red ground lined and sprinkled with dots. . . ." Their date "1st cent. B.C.-A.D." is probably about a century too early. For the largest of our three painted sherds, cf. *QDAP*, IX, Plate XXXIV, which is part of a plate found at Tell el-'Ajjûl by Petrie.

Bronze, and Moabite temple. There is, however, no adequate evidence to exclude the possibility that it was built at a much later date, although this is less likely, owing to its isolated location. Since a reconstructed plan of the temple has been drawn (Fig. 8), it is hoped that a parallel plan from elsewhere in Transjordan will eventually come to light, making possible the approximate dating of this temple.

A section of stone wall about 12 meters long (Fig. 9), excavated in 1933, was originally thought to be part of the temple, but subsequent comparison has rendered this identification uncertain. The greatest difficulty is that the width of this wall was only slightly more than a meter, while the temple examined in 1924 had walls which averaged a meter and a half in width.

The table of offering (Plate 19:A), found immediate outside the temple, was almost certainly associated with the temple ritual, possibly as a libation altar. The fact that there are two depressions or hollows is somewhat of an anomaly.

The four menhirs in all probability belong to the latter part of the third millennium, as indi-

cated by the potsherds found in their vicinity and by comparison with similar standing stones elsewhere in the Palestine area. They are probably contemporary with the pillars at Bâb ed-Drâ,<sup>15</sup> some distance to the west, and with the menhirs at Lejjûn, a short distance to the east.<sup>16</sup> While the *serâbiṭ* at Ader do not constitute a "high place,"<sup>17</sup> they are unquestionably religious in character and are ultimately related to the sacred rocks discussed in Chapter III in connection with the Conway High Place.

The 1933 campaign at Ader, limited in purpose to exploratory excavation, has clearly demonstrated the great antiquity of the site and the great extent of the ancient cities which stood there. There is undoubtedly much of outstanding significance to the world of archaeology remaining buried under the modern town, but the present occupation, coupled with the mass of Byzantine and Arab deposit, would make it very difficult to investigate the Bronze Age and Moabite remains further. This is not a problem at Ader alone, since many larger and more important sites cannot be dug because of the modern cities which live on millennia of accumulated debris.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Albright, *Bulletin* 14 (April, 1924), p. 6; Alexis Mallon, "Voyage d'exploration au sud-est de la Mer Morte," *Biblica*, Vol. 5 (1924), pp. 445 f. Mallon mentions that there were seven megaliths at Bâb ed-Drâ'. On the menhirs and their dates, see also Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 77 f.

<sup>16</sup> Nelson Glueck, "Further Explorations in Eastern Palestine," *Bulletin* 51, pp. 15 f. Glueck counted sixteen monoliths when he was there. They were smaller than those at Ader, and only about 1.5 m. in height. The standing stones at Lejjûn are close together and in a curving row; for picture see Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, I, *ANNUAL* XIV, Fig. 19 (p. 45).

<sup>17</sup> Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 66. Albright here says that the menhirs at Bâb ed-Drâ' were part of a large open-air sanctuary. For further description of that site, see Albright, *ANNUAL* VI, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Jerusalem and Damascus are classic examples of this situation. Conspicuous in Transjordan are Mâdebâ and Hesbân, where thick deposits—probably mostly Roman and Byzantine—are covered by the houses of their modern populations.







PLATE 2\*  
 Petra: (A) "Megalithic circle" before excavation with Umm el-Biyârah in the background  
 (*Geographical Journal*, Nov., 1930).  
 (B) Excavation of the Conway High Place from a distance, showing surrounding  
 terrain (looking ENE).





Petra: (A) Clearing operations on northeast of central rock, looking NNW. The  
 PLATE 3\* "Turkoman" tomb is visible at the left just above the sacred rock,  
 with Wādī Abū 'Ulleiqah running past it.  
 (B) Debris and ash east of the "shrine," looking south. The fallen  
 masonry suggests that some kind of structure had once protected  
 the platform.





Petra: (A) Southwestern rock-cut trench at beginning of excavation, with offering  
 PLATE 4\* pot *in situ* (looking southeast). Later masonry steps are in place  
 in trench.  
 (B) Location of pots found during excavation of rock-cut trench on south-  
 west. (Same area as A, but looking northwest.)





Petra: (A) Excavated area at southwest of stone circle, showing shrine platform  
 PLATE 5\* with pedestal and altar (looking northeast). The ring-wall forms  
 the back of the shrine.  
 (B) More detailed view of shrine platform.





PLATE 6\*      Petra: (A) Exposed bedrock in front (to southwest) of shrine, looking west. The front edge of the platform is visible in right center.  
                   (B) Curving rock-cut ramp at southwest of sacred rock, looking southeast. The second step (with high rise) was later covered by masonry steps (see Plates 1 and 4, A), which have been removed.





Petra: (A) Partly cleared rock-cut trench on northeast side of sacred rock, looking southeast. The steps at top center are those belonging to the processional way.  
 (B) Steps in processional way on east side of central rock, looking east.

PLATE 7\*





PLATE 8\*      Petra: (A) Radial stepped ramp leading up toward the sacred rock from the southeast (looking north).  
(B) Section of the processional way on north side of central rock, looking NNE.





PLATE 9\*      Petra: (A) Two levels of stone pavement belonging to the processional way, looking ESE with sacred rock in the background.  
                   (B) Two levels of stone pavement on northwest side of central rock, looking SSW.





Petra: Outer face of ring-wall in two places on north side, showing  
stone construction.





Petra: (A) First photograph in panoramic series, showing upper and lower stone pavements (looking northwest). The sequence was taken from the central rock and makes a complete circuit, so the ninth photograph (Plate 15, A) joins the first.  
 (B) Second photograph in panoramic series, showing stone pavement (looking west).



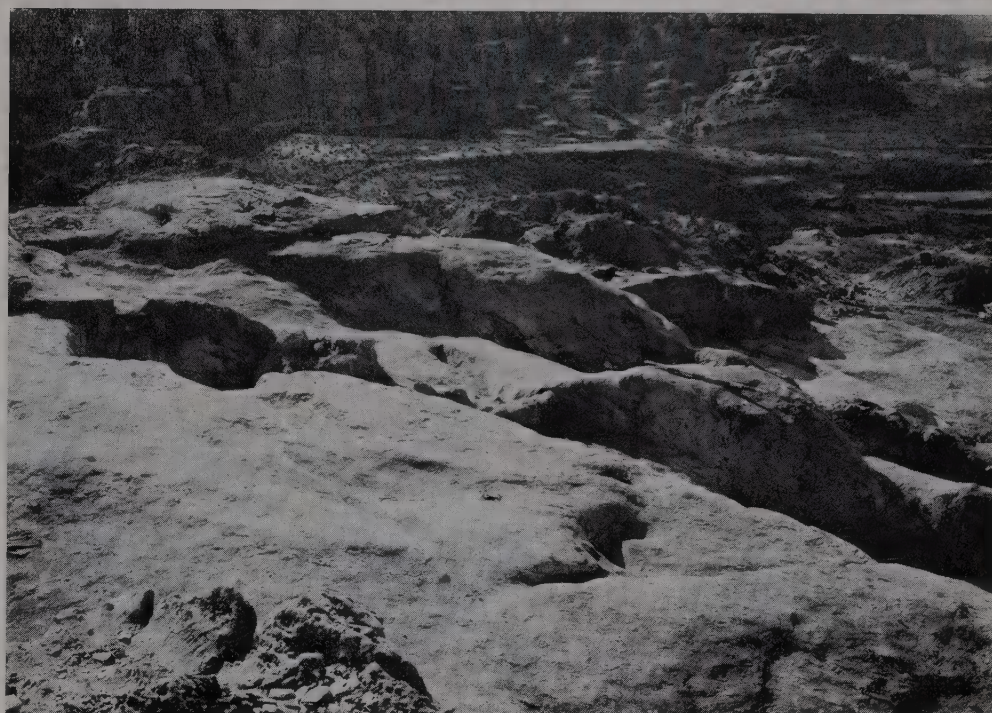


PLATE 12\*

Petra: (A) Third photograph in panoramic series, looking southwest. The rock-cut trench with stepped ramp runs across center. The cleared space farther back is the area in front of shrine platform.

(B) Fourth photograph in series, looking SSW (overlaps A). The large rock-hewn façade in background is the "Palace Tomb" (*tombe à trois étages*).





PLATE 13\*      Petra: (A) Fifth photograph in panoramic series, looking SSE. The south edge of southwest rock-cut ramp is near the top. The radial stepped ramp, coming up from the southeast (not visible), ends to the left of the circular hollow in the rock at top center.  
 (B) Sixth photograph in series, showing steps in processional way.







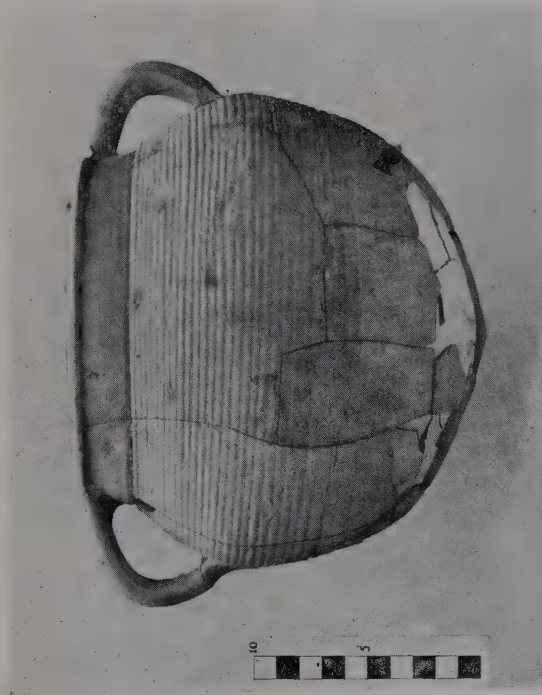


PLATE 15\*

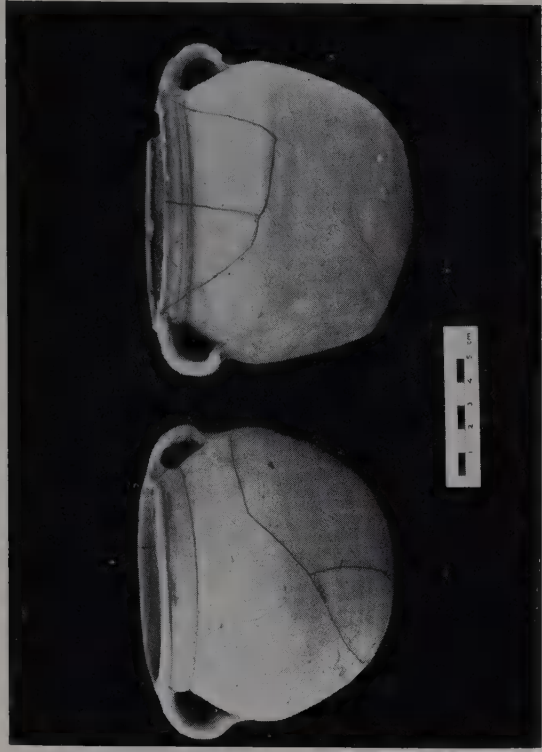
Petra: (A) Ninth and last photograph in panoramic series, looking NNW across central rock and stone pavement (lower course).

(B) Intersection of city wall with "Tower Sanctuary" (Conway High Place), looking southeast. The junction of the city wall with the high place was excavated by the Horsfields subsequent to the excavation of the latter (photograph from *QDAP*, Vol. VII, Plate XIV:2).

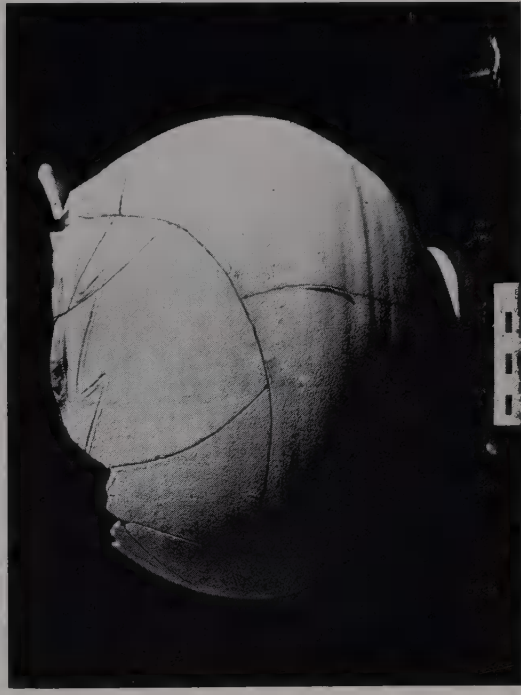




Petra: (A) Late Roman-Nabataean cooking pot  
(drawing in Fig. 6:1).



(B) Roman-Nabataean cooking pots (drawing Fig. 5:2, 5).



(C) Roman-Nabataean pot with ring-base  
(drawing Fig. 7:7).



(D) Part of earlier Roman-Nabataean votive pot, photographed at larger  
scale than A, B, C (drawing Fig. 6:3).

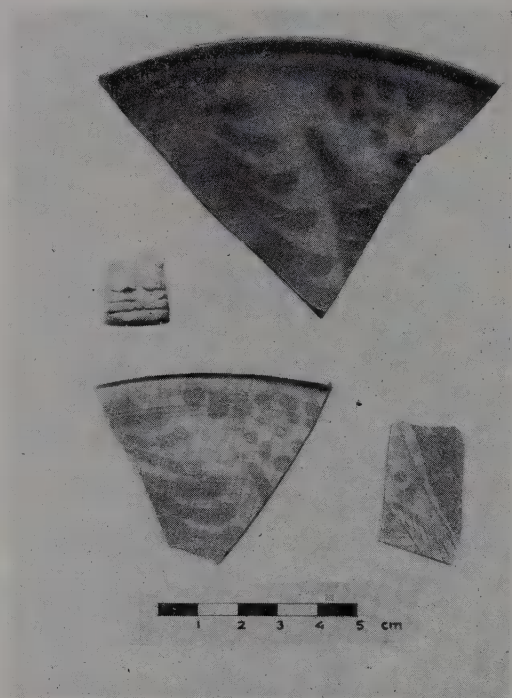
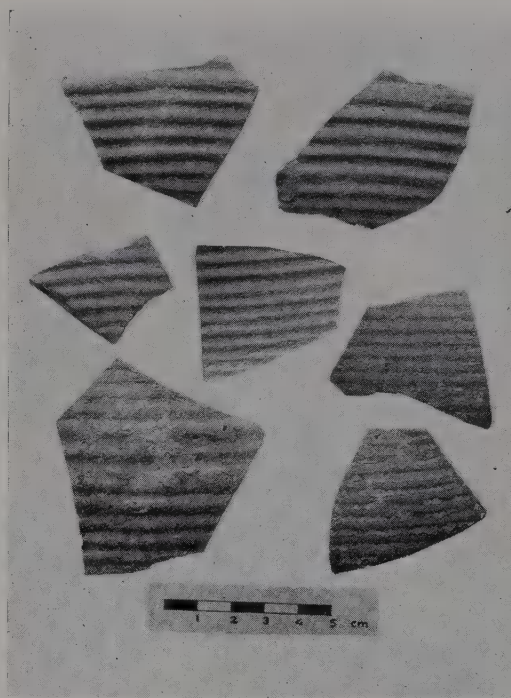
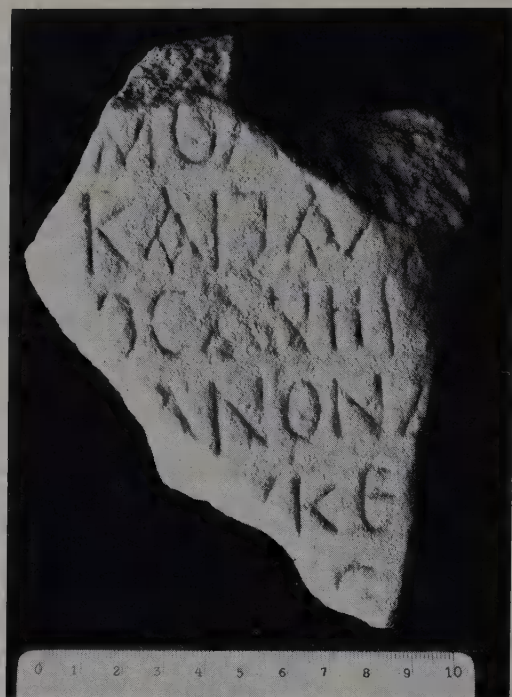
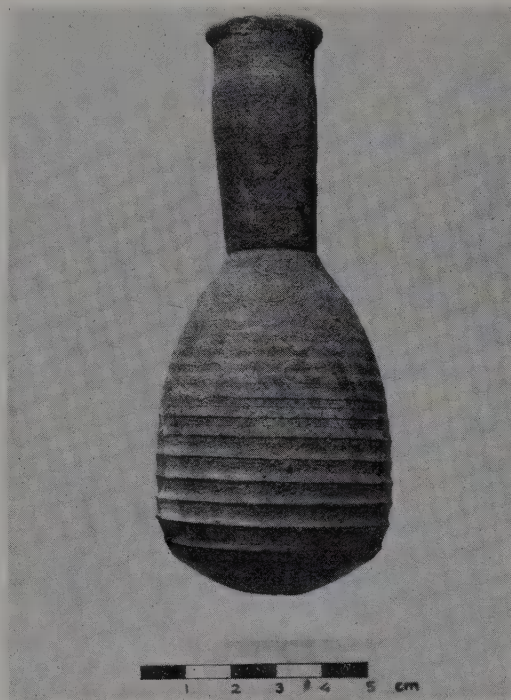


PLATE 17\*

Petra: (A) Roman-Nabataean unguentarium.  
 (C) Ribbed sherds (from burning of Nabataean shrine).

(B) Fragment of Greek inscription.  
 (D) Sherds of painted Nabataean ware.



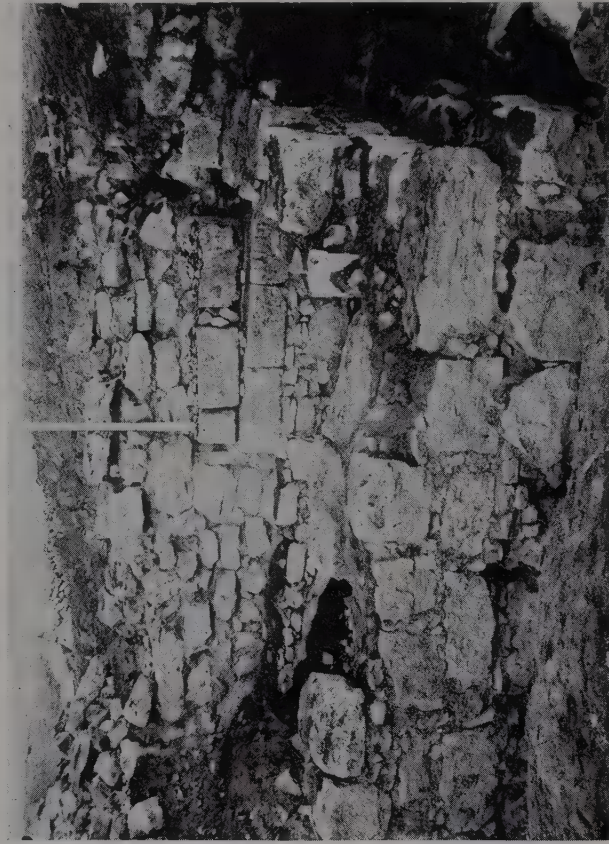
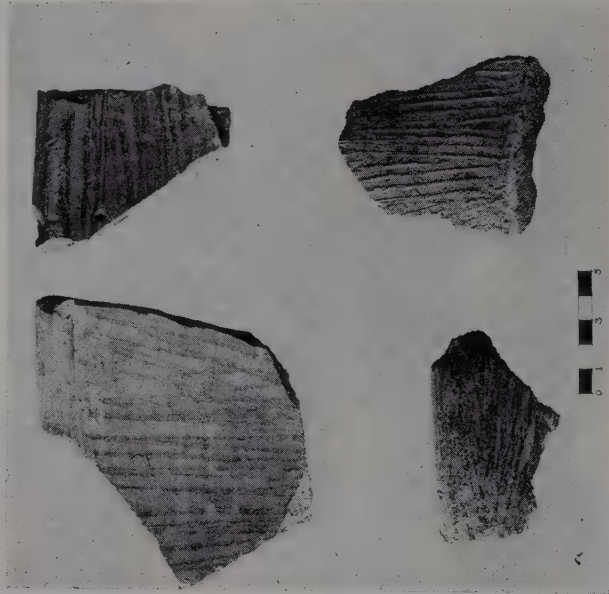
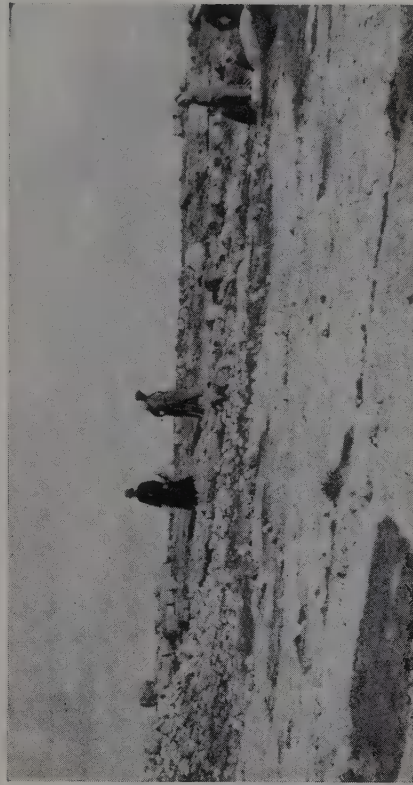


Petra: (A) Nabataean lamp and lamp fragment.

PLATE 18\*

(B) Nabataean coins from excavation of Conway High Place. Top row: Aretas IV; Malichus II. Center row: Aretas IV or Malichus II; Aretus IV. Bottom row: Aretas IV; unidentified.





# PLATE 19\*

Ader: (A) Offering table beside ruins of temple, looking south (spring, 1924).

(C) Early Bronze pottery, Phase C.

(B) Ruins of temple, looking approximately east (spring, 1924). The large monolith near right lies over temple steps.

(D) Roman Period tower on north wall of city, looking south after excavation.



PLATE 20\*

Ader: (A) Roman Period burial inside northwest corner of city wall, from west.

(B) Upright menhir known as *sarbûl* Ader.

(C) Roman-Nabataean pottery from above Roman Period tomb (upper row) and from the burial itself (lower row).



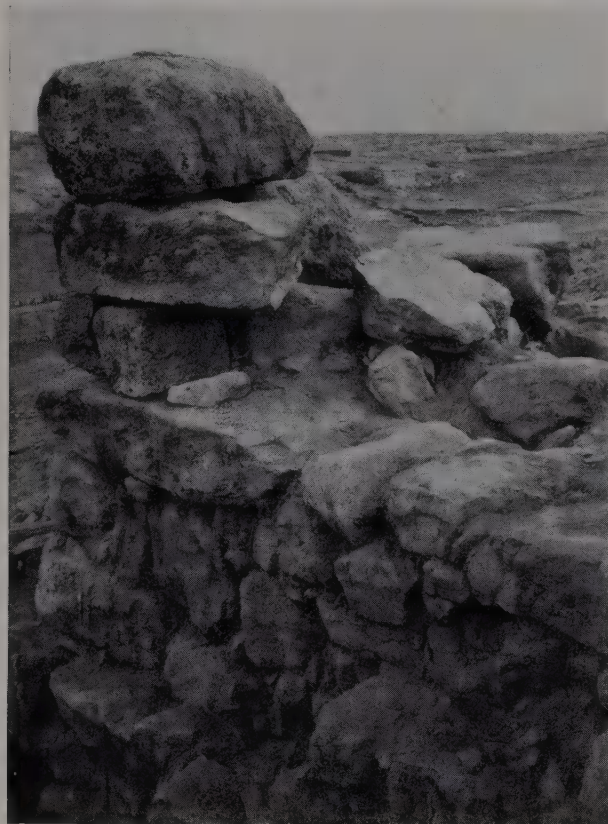
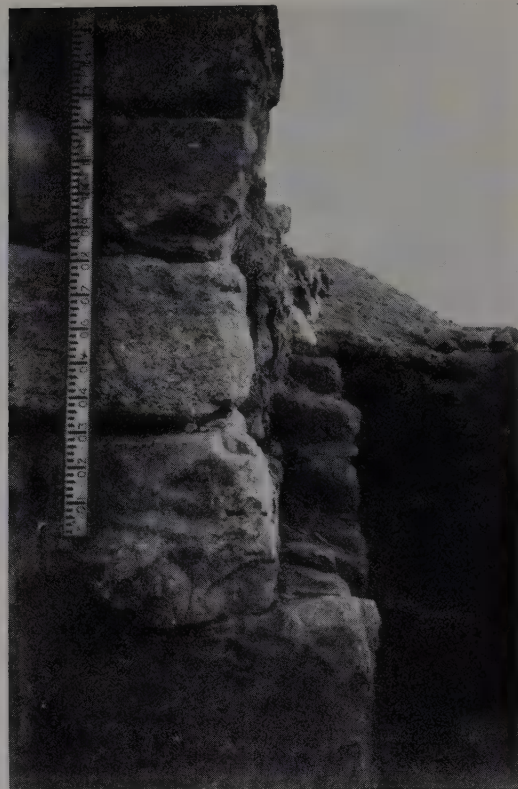


PLATE 21\*

ADER: NORTHWEST CORNER OF CITY WALL

- (A) As it appeared in 1924.  
 (C) Viewed from southwest.

- (B) Looking along west wall after excavation;  
 notice setback.  
 (D) Looking at north face.



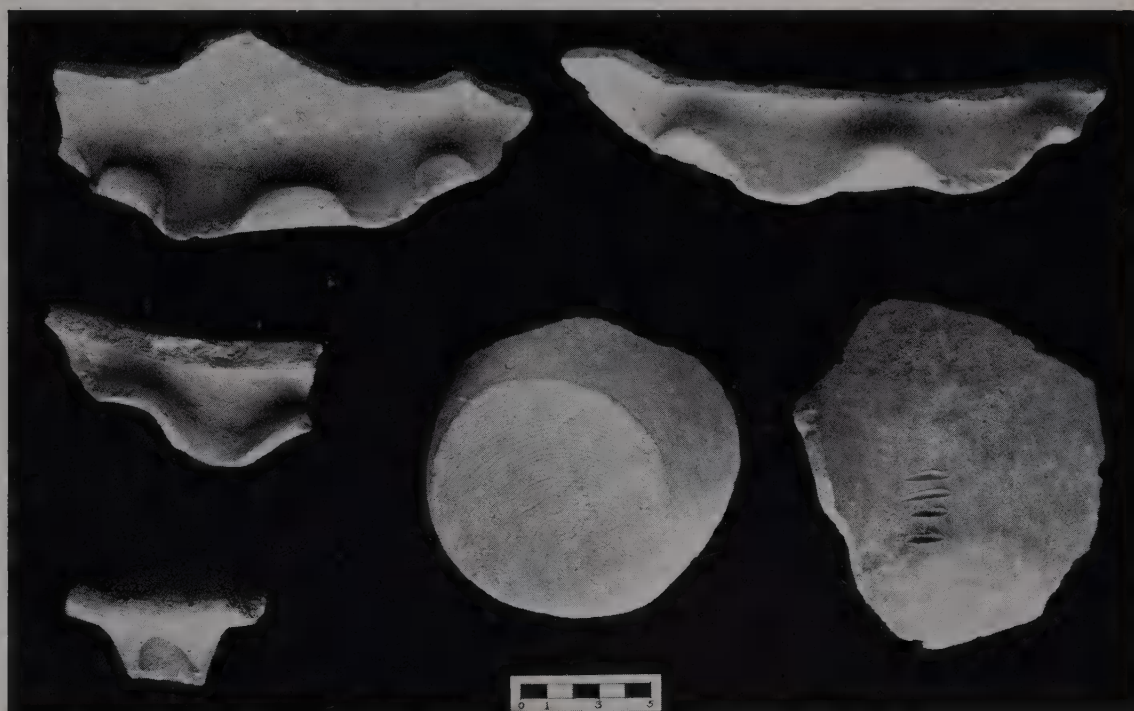
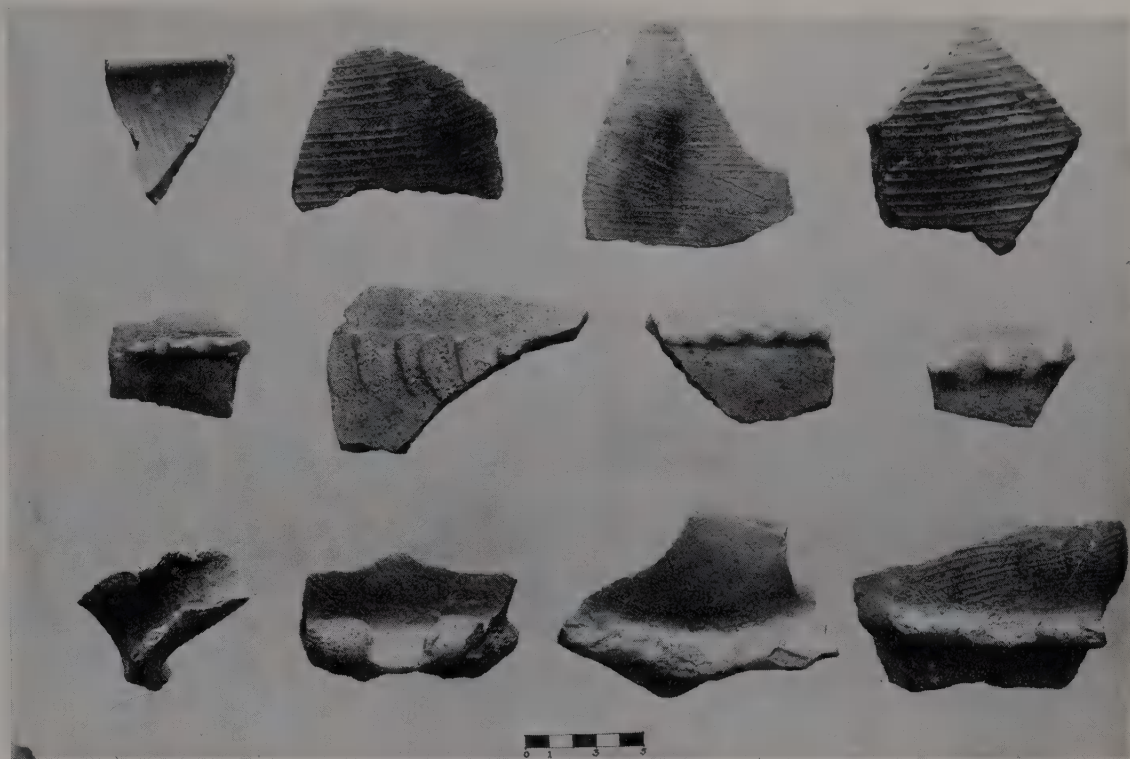
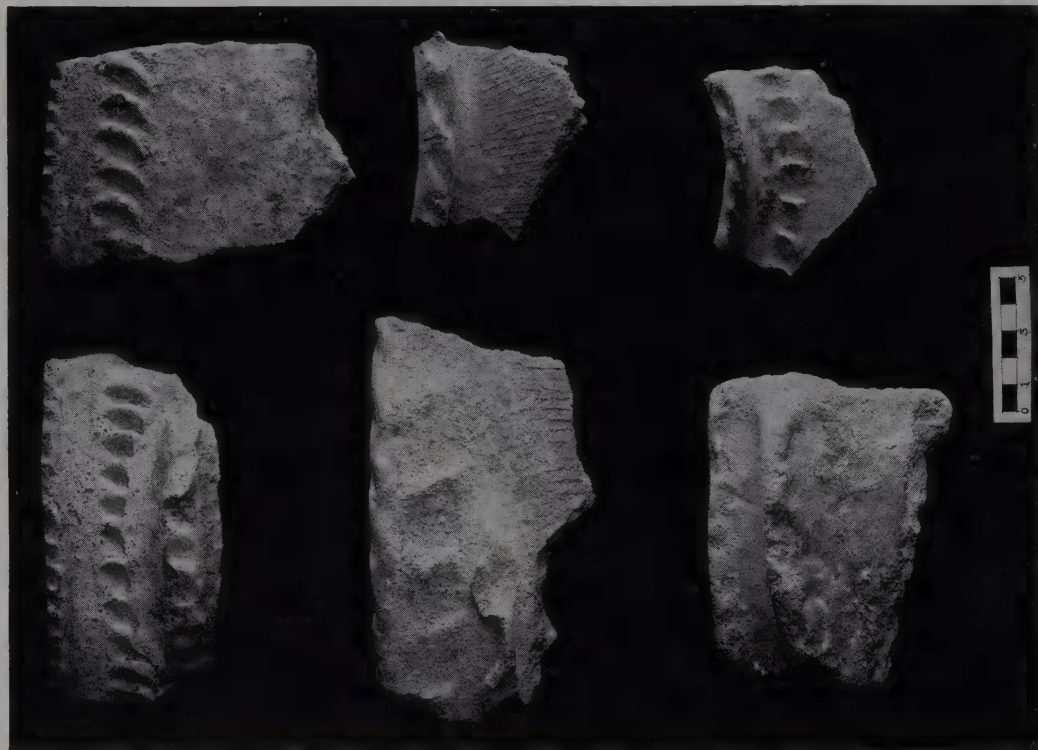


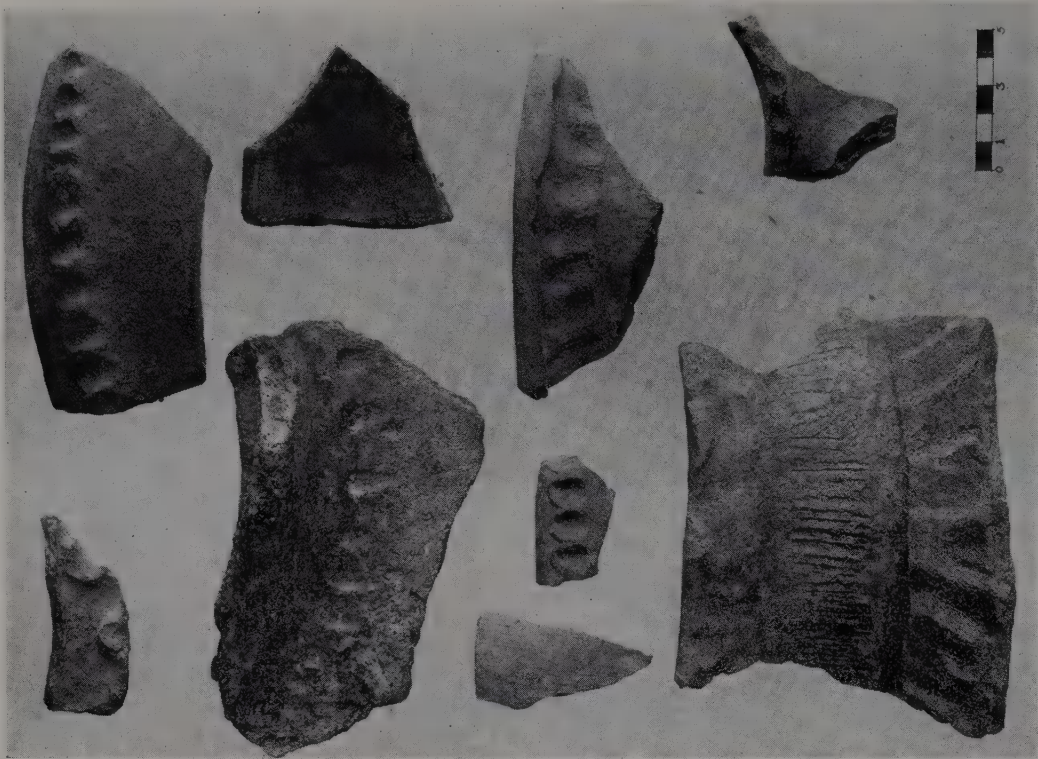
PLATE 22\*

Ader: (A) Middle Bronze I sherds, Phase B.

(B) Early Bronze Age sherds from tomb shaft.



Ader: (A) Bronze Age pottery from Phase B (no. 1),  
small trench (no. 2), and surface (nos. 3-6).



(B) Middle Bronze I sherds, Phase B.



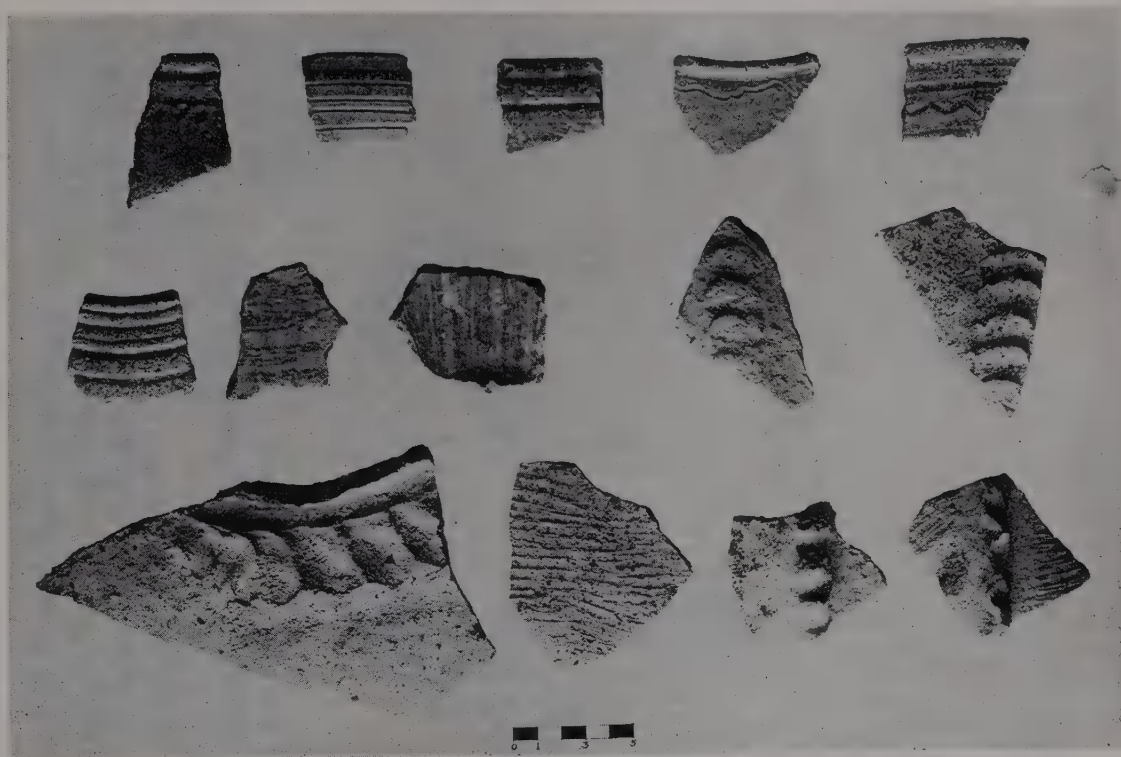
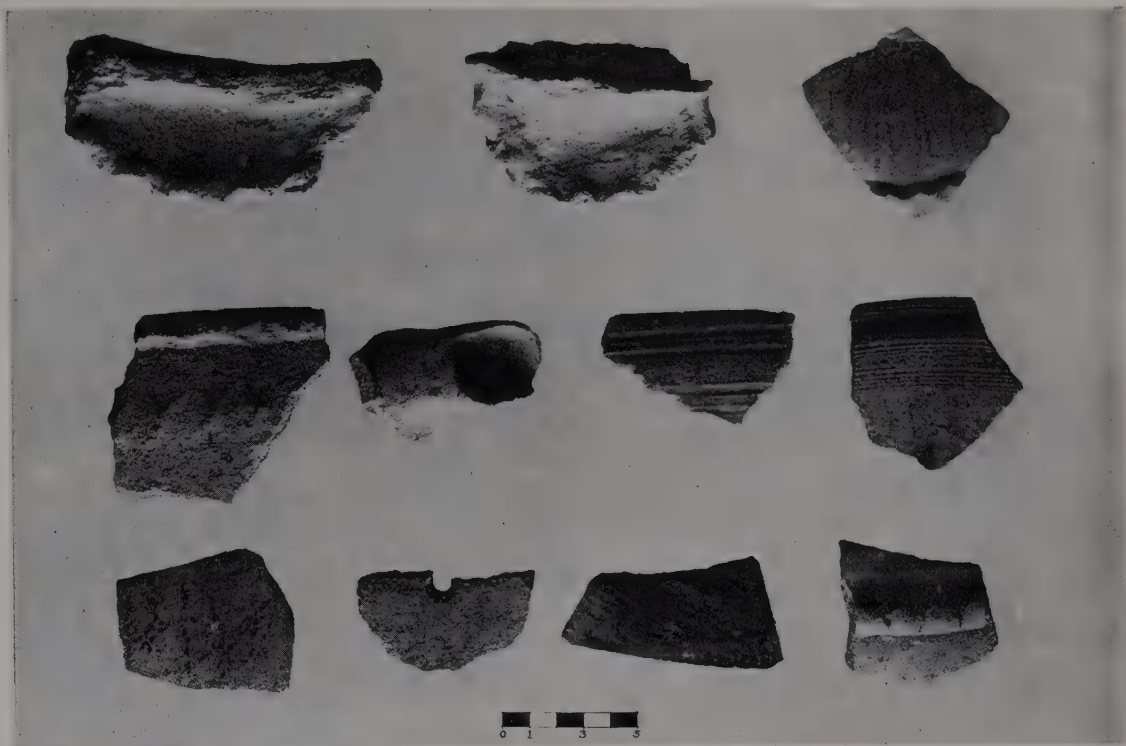


PLATE 24\*

Ader: (A) Middle Bronze I sherds, Phase B.

(B) Middle Bronze I sherds, Phase A.











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